MAHATMA
GANDHI



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This collection of photographs, gathered from sources all over the world, is being brought out by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to enshrine the life and work of the Father of the Nation.

The selection of over 500 photographs out of many thousands covering such a life was no easy task. Indeed, no such collection can be considered exhaustive or fully representative. It is hoped, however, that this publication will be a useful addition to the literature on Mahatma Gandhi.

Acknowledgements have been made at the end of the volume to all those who have contributed to this collection We wish, however, to express our special indebtedness to Kaka Saheb Kalelkar and Sri Devadas Gandhi whose help and guidance made our task easier.

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Foreword

DURING his life of nearly four score years Mahatma Gandhi passed through more phases than perhaps any other man of like stature Being born in a middle class Vaishnava family and brought up in that atmosphere till he joined school and received instruction according to the system then prevailing he lived, dressed and dined in the way all children of that class did Later he went to England for studies and changed his dress to suit the conditions of that country But in food and certain other matters he remained true to the lesson he had learnt early in life On his return to India after being called to the Bar he passed through difficult times as all beginners in the profession of law have to do and it was as a lawyer that he went to South Africa to help a client He had, however, to spend many years there as the condition of Indians and the treatment they received demanded that he should serve them rather than return to India His struggle with the authorities brought about a considerable change in his life and by the time he returned to India he had already become a Sanyasi though he never put on the saffron robe of a Sanyasi His dress in India on his return was different from what he used to wear when he was practising as a Barrister and conformed to the old Kathiawadi type His campaign in favour of the non co operation movement brought about another change which identified his outward appearance with that of the humblest and lowliest of the land and he stuck to the loin cloth till he departed with the name of God on his lips The rigours of winter could bring about no change in him during his short visit to England in 1931 It is therefore a very instructive and fascinating study to see him in pictures in different stages of his life But apart from the mere difference in dress his characteristic poses and glimpses of his personality have attracted attention All these can be seen in the photographs which have been reproduced in this volume There is a great deal that has been written and is being written about his life and his teachings His life in pictures will make an ideal combination with what is being or has been written about him by himself and others

I therefore welcome this publication which is an humble tribute to his memory by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Government of India

RAJENDRA PRASAD

Rashtrapati Bhavan,
New Delhi,
20th January, 1954

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Introductory

WHEN GANDHI was born British rule had been securely established in India The uprising of 1857, known as the Mutiny, had merely served to consolidate the British adventure into an empire India had effectively passed under British tutelage, so effectively indeed, that instead of resenting alien rule the new generation of educated Indians were eager to submit to the "civilizing mission" of their foreign masters Political subjection had been reinforced by intellectual and moral servility It seemed that the British empire in India was safe for centuries

When Gandhi died it was as a free nation that India mourned the loss The disinherited had recovered their heritage and the "dumb millions" had found their voice The disarmed had won a great battle and had in the process evolved a moral force such as to compel the attention, and to some degree the admiration, of the world The story of this miracle is also the story of Gandhi's life, for he more than any other was the architect of this miracle It is not for nothing that his grateful countrymen called him and have continued to call him the Father of the Nation

And yet it would be an exaggeration to say that Gandhi alone wrought this miracle No single individual, however great and wonderful, can be the sole engineer of a historical process A succession of remarkable predecessors and elder contemporaries had quarried and broken the stones which helped Gandhi to pave the way to India's independence They had set in motion various trends in the intellectual, social and moral consciousness of the people which the genius of Gandhi mobilized and directed in a grand march Raja Rammohun Roy, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and his great disciple, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Dadabhai Naoroji, Badrudin Tyabji, Syed Ahmed Khan, Ranade, Gokhale, Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh and Rabindranath Tagore, to name only a few, each one of them had in his own field created a consciousness of India's destiny and helped to generate a spirit of sacrifice which, in Gandhi's hands, became the instruments of a vast political-cum-moral upheaval Had Gandhi been born a hundred years earlier he could hardly have achieved what he did Nevertheless it is true that but for Gandhi India s political destiny would have been vastly different and her moral stature vastly inferior

But though Gandhi lived, suffered and died in India and for Indians it is not in relation to India's destiny alone that his life has significance Nor is it only as a patriot politician and nation builder that he will be remembered by future generations He was essentially a moral force whose appeal is to the conscience of man and therefore universal He was the servant and friend of man as man and not as belonging to this or that nation, religion or race If he worked for Indians only, it was because he was born among them and because their humiliation and suffering supplied the necessary incentives to his moral sensibility The lesson of his life therefore is for all to read He founded no church and though he lived by faith he left behind no dogma for the faithful to quarrel over He gave no attributes to God save Truth and prescribed no path for attaining it save honest and relentless search through means that injure no living thing Who dare therefore claim Gandhi for his own except by claiming him for all?

Another lesson of his life which should be of universal interest is that he was not born a genius and did not exhibit in early life any extraordinary faculty that is not shared by the common run of men He was no inspired bard like Rabindranath Tagore, he had no mystic visions like Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, he was no child prodigy like Shankara or Vivekananda He was just an ordinary child like most of us If there was anything extraordinary about him as a child it was his shyness, a handicap from which he suffered for a long time No doubt, something very extraordinary must have been latent in his spirit which later developed into an iron will and combined with a moral sensibility made him what he became, but there was little evidence of it in his childhood We may therefore derive courage and

inspiration from the knowledge that if he made himself what he was, there is no visible reason why others should not be able to do the same. His genius, if that word must be used, was, so to say, an infinite capacity for taking pains in fulfilment of a restless moral urge. His life was one continuous striving, an unremitting *sadhana*, a relentless search for truth, not abstract or metaphysical truth, but such truth as can be realized in human relations. He climbed step by step, each step no bigger than a man's, till when we saw him at the height he seemed more than a man. "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe", wrote Einstein, "that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth." If at the end he seemed like no other man, it is good to remember that when he began he was like any other man.

Such is the great lesson of his life. Fortunately, he has himself recorded for us the main incidents of his life till 1921 and described with scrupulous veracity the evolution of his moral and intellectual consciousness. Had he not done so, there would have been in India no dearth of devout chroniclers who would have invented divine portents at his birth and invested him with a halo from his childhood. How right Tagore was when he sang : "Your speech is simple, my Master, but not theirs who talk of you."

Birth and Upbringing

MOHANDAS Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869, at Porbandar, a small town on the western coast of India, which was then one of the many tiny states in Kathiawar. He was born in a middle class family of Vaishya caste. His grandfather had risen to be the Dewan or Prime Minister of Porbandar and was succeeded by his son Karamchand who was the father of Mohandas. Putlibai, Mohandas's mother, was a saintly character, gentle and devout, and left a deep impress on her son's mind.

Mohandas went to an elementary school in Porbandar, where he found it difficult to master the multiplication tables. "My intellect must have been sluggish and my memory raw," he recalled with candour many years later. He was seven when his family moved to Rajkot, another state in Kathiawar, where his father became Dewan. There he attended a primary school and later joined a high school. Though conscientious he was a "mediocre student" and was excessively shy and timid.

While his school record gave no indication of his future greatness, there was one incident which was significant. A British school inspector came to examine the boys and set a spelling test. Mohandas made a mistake which the class teacher noticed. The latter motioned to him to copy the correct spelling from his neighbour's slate. Mohandas refused to take the hint and was later chided for his "stupidity".

We can also discover in the little boy a hint of that passion for reforming others which later became so dominant a trait of the Mahatma, though in this case the zeal almost led him astray. Impelled by a desire to reform a friend of his elder brother's, one Sheikh Mehtab, he cultivated his company and imbibed habits which he had to regret later. This friend convinced him that the British could rule India because they lived on meat which gave them the necessary strength. So Mohandas who came of an orthodox vegetarian family took to tasting meat clandestinely, for patriotic reasons. But apart from the inherited vegetarian sentiment which made him feel, after he had once swallowed a piece, as if "a live goat were bleating inside me", he had to wrestle with the knowledge that such clandestine repasts would have to be hidden from his parents which would entail falsehood on his part. This he was reluctant to do. And so after a few such experiments he gave up the idea, consoling himself with the reflection : "When they are no more and I have found my freedom, I will eat meat openly."

While he was still in high school, he was married, at the age of thirteen, to Kasturbai who was also of the same age. For a boy of that age marriage meant only a round of feasts, new clothes to wear and a strange and docile companion to play with. But he soon felt the impact of sex which he has described for us with admirable candour. The infinite tenderness and respect which were so marked and touching a characteristic of his attitude in later life to Indian women may have owed something to his personal experience of "the cruel custom of child marriage", as he called it.

Youth and Study in England

AFTER matriculating from the high school, Mohandas joined the Samaldas College in Bhavnagar, where he found the studies difficult and the atmosphere uncongenial Meanwhile, his father had died in 1885 A friend of the family suggested that if the young Gandhi hoped to take his father's place in the state service he had better become a barrister which he could do in England in three years Gandhi jumped at the idea The mother's objection to his going abroad was overcome by the son's solemn vow not to touch wine, women and meat

Gandhi went to Bombay to take the boat for England In Bombay his caste people, who looked upon crossing the ocean as contamination, threatened to excommunicate him if he persisted in going abroad But Gandhi was adamant and was thus formally excommunicated by his caste Undeterred, he sailed on September 4, 1888, for Southampton—aged eighteen A few months earlier Kasturbai had borne him a son

The first few days in London were miserable "I would continually think of my home and country Everything was strange—the people, their ways and even their dwellings I was a complete novice in the matter of English etiquette, and continually had to be on my guard There was the additional inconvenience of the vegetarian vow Even the dishes that I could eat were tasteless and insipid "

The food difficulty was solved when one day he chanced upon a vegetarian restaurant in Farringdon Street where he also bought a copy of Salt's *Plea for Vegetarianism* and was greatly impressed by it Hitherto he had been a vegetarian because of the vow he had taken From now on he became a vegetarian by choice He read many more books on vegetarianism and diet and was delighted to discover modern science confirm the practice of his forefathers To spread vegetarianism became henceforward his mission, as he put it

During the early period of his stay in England Gandhi went through a phase which he has described as aping the English gentleman He got new clothes made, purchased a silk hat costing nineteen shillings, "wasted ten pounds on an evening dress suit made in Bond Street" and flaunted a double watch-chain of gold He took lessons in French and in elocution and spent three guineas to learn ball room dancing But he soon realized—and here is foreshadowed the real Gandhi—that if he could not become a gentleman by virtue of his character, the ambition was not worth cherishing

Towards the end of his second year in London, he came across two theosophist brothers who introduced him to Sir Edwin Arnold's translation in English verse of the Gita—*The Song Celestial* He was deeply impressed "The book struck me as one of priceless worth This opinion of the Gita has ever since been growing on me, with the result that I regard it today as the supreme book for the knowledge of Truth It has afforded me invaluable help in my moments of gloom "

About the same time a Christian friend whom he had met in a vegetarian boarding house introduced him to the Bible He found it difficult to wade through the Old Testament which put him to sleep, but he fell in love with the New Testament and specially with the Sermon on the Mount He also read Sir Edwin Arnold's rendering of Buddha's life—*The Light of Asia*—as well as the chapter on the Prophet of Islam in Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship* The attitude of respect for all religions and the desire to understand the best in each one of them were thus planted in his mind early in life

Having passed his examinations Gandhi was called to the Bar on June 10 1891, and sailed for India two days later

On the Threshold of Manhood

WHEN he reached Bombay he learnt to his profound sorrow that his mother had died The news had been deliberately kept back from him to spare him the shock in a distant land

After spending some time in Rajkot where with his usual earnestness he immediately took in hand the education of his little son and of his brother's children, he decided to set up in legal practice in Bombay He stayed in Bombay for a few months but had only one small brief When he rose to argue it in the court, his nerve failed him and he could not utter a word

Having failed to establish himself in Bombay, Gandhi returned to Rajkot where he started again. But he did not make much headway and was unhappy and out of tune with the atmosphere of petty intrigue that was rampant in the small states of Kathiawar. In this predicament came an offer from Dada Abdulla & Co. to proceed to South Africa on their behalf to instruct their counsel in a lawsuit. It was a godsend. Gandhi jumped at it and sailed for South Africa in April 1893.

He little realized what he was letting himself in for and fondly imagined that he was escaping from an unpleasant situation in Rajkot and was going to make a little money after all. But fate had something different in store for him. It was in South Africa that this shy, timid youth of twenty-four, inexperienced, unaided, alone, came into clash with forces that obliged him to tap his hidden moral resources and turn misfortunes into creative spiritual experiences.

Dressed in a frock-coat and turban Gandhi landed in Durban where his client Abdulla Sheth received him. Almost the first thing he sensed on arrival was the oppressive atmosphere of racial snobbishness. Indians of whom large numbers were settled in South Africa, some as merchants, some in the professions, the large majority as indentured labourers or their descendants, were all looked down upon as pariahs by the white settlers and called coolies or samis. Thus a Hindu doctor was a coolie doctor and Gandhi himself a coolie barrister.

After about a week's stay in Durban Gandhi left for Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, where his presence was needed in connection with a lawsuit. A first-class ticket was purchased for him by his client. When the train reached Maritzburg, the capital of Natal, at about 9 p.m., a white passenger who boarded the train objected to the presence of a "coloured" man in the compartment and Gandhi was ordered by a railway official to shift to a third-class. When he refused to do so, a constable pushed him out and his luggage was taken away by the railway authorities. It was winter and bitterly cold. Gandhi sat and shivered the whole night in the waiting-room, thinking: 'Should I fight for my rights or go back to India?' He decided that it was cowardice to run away without fulfilling his obligations.

The next evening he continued the train journey —this time without a mishap. But a bigger mishap awaited him on the journey from Charlestown to Johannesburg which had to be covered by stage coach. He was made to sit with the coachman on the box outside, while the white conductor sat inside with the white passengers. Gandhi pocketed the insult for fear of missing the coach altogether. On the way the conductor who wanted a smoke spread a piece of dirty sack-cloth on the footboard and ordered Gandhi to sit there so that the conductor could have Gandhi's seat and smoke. Gandhi refused. The conductor swore and rained blows on him, trying to throw him down. Gandhi clung to the brass rails of the coach box, refusing to yield and unwilling to retaliate. Some of the white passengers protested at this cowardly assault and the conductor was obliged to stop beating Gandhi who kept his seat.

Though his main concern in Pretoria was with the lawsuit, Gandhi's sense of social justice had been aroused by his personal experience of the indignities to which his countrymen were subject. He therefore lost no time, after making the necessary preliminary contacts, in calling a meeting of the Indian community in Pretoria which consisted largely of Muslim merchants. This was his first public speech successfully delivered. He exhorted his countrymen to observe truthfulness even in business and reminded them that their responsibility was all the greater since their country would be judged by their conduct in a foreign land. He asked them to forget all distinctions of religion and caste and to give up some of their insanitary habits. He suggested the formation of an association to look after the welfare of the Indian settlers and offered his free time and services.

The position of Indians in the Transvaal was worse than in Natal. They were compelled to pay a poll tax of £3; they were not allowed to own land except in a specially allotted location, a kind of ghetto; they had no franchise, and were not allowed to walk on the pavement or move out of doors after 9 p.m. without a special permit. One day Gandhi, who had received from the State Attorney a letter authorizing him to be out of doors at all hours, was having his usual walk. As he passed near President Kruger's house, the policeman on duty, suddenly and without any warning, pushed him off the pavement and kicked him into the street. Mr. Coates, an English Quaker who knew Gandhi, happened to pass by and saw the incident. He advised Gandhi to proceed against the man and offered himself as witness. But Gandhi declined the offer saying that he had made it a rule not to go to court in respect of a personal grievance.

In the meanwhile he had been working hard at the lawsuit and had gained a sound knowledge of legal practice He made two discoveries one was that facts are three fourths of the law, the other, that litigation was ruinous to both parties in a suit and therefore the duty of a lawyer was to bring them together in a settlement out of court In this particular case he succeeded in persuading both Abdulla Sheth and the opposing party, Tyeb Sheth, to accept arbitration

Having completed his work in Pretoria, Gandhi returned to Durban and prepared to sail home But at a farewell dinner given in his honour some one showed him a news item in *Natal Mercury* that the Natal Government proposed to introduce a bill to disfranchise Indians Gandhi immediately understood the ominous implications of this bill which, as he said, "is the first nail into our coffin" and advised his compatriots to resist it by concerted action But they pleaded their helplessness without him and begged him to stay on for another month He agreed, little realizing that this one month would grow into twenty years

With his usual earnestness Gandhi then and there turned the farewell dinner into an action committee and drafted a petition to the Natal Legislative Assembly Volunteers came forward to make copies of the petition and to collect signatures—all during the night The petition received good publicity in the press the following morning The bill was however passed Undeterred, Gandhi set to work on another petition to Lord Ripon, the Secretary of State for Colonies Within a month the mammoth petition with ten thousand signatures was sent to Lord Ripon and a thousand copies printed for distribution Even *The Times* admitted the justice of the Indian claim, and for the first time the people in India came to know of the hard lot of their compatriots in South Africa

Gandhi insisted that if he had to extend his stay in South Africa he would accept no remuneration for his public services and since he still thought it necessary to live as befitted a barrister he needed about £300 to meet his expenses He therefore enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal

Emergence of the Mahatma

THREE years' stay in South Africa persuaded Gandhi that he could not now desert a cause he had so warmly espoused He therefore took six months' leave to visit India and bring his family back But it was no holiday He visited many cities in India and worked hard to interest the editors of papers and eminent public men in the unfortunate condition of Indians in South Africa He published a small pamphlet on the subject Though it was a very sober and restrained statement of the Indian case, a distorted summary cabled by Reuters created considerable misunderstanding in Natal which was to have unpleasant consequences later

When plague broke out in Rajkot, Gandhi volunteered his services and visited every locality, including the quarters of the untouchables, to inspect the latrines and teach the residents better methods of sanitation

During this visit, he made the acquaintance of veteran leaders like Badrudin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjee and the great savant and patriot, Tilak He met the wise and noble-hearted Gokhale and was greatly attracted to him He addressed a large public meeting in Bombay He was due to speak in Calcutta also, but before he could do so an urgent telegram from the Indian community in Natal obliged him to cut short his stay and sail for Durban with his wife and children in November *1896*

When the ship reached Durban, it was put into five days' quarantine The European community misled by garbled versions of Gandhi's activities in India and by a rumour that he was bringing shiploads of Indians to settle in Natal were wild with anger and threatened to drown all the passengers However, the passengers, including Gandhi s family, were allowed to land unmolested But when Gandhi came down a little later and his identity was discovered, an infuriated mob fell upon him, stoning, beating and kicking him and would probably have killed him had not a brave English lady come to his rescue

News of this cowardly assault received wide publicity and Joseph Chamberlain, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, cabled an order to Natal to prosecute all those who were

responsible for the attempted lynching. But Gandhi refused to identify and prosecute his assailants, saying that they were misled and that he was sure that when they came to know the truth they would be sorry for what they had done. Thus spoke the Mahatma in him.

It was during this second period in South Africa that Gandhi's mode of living underwent a change, albeit gradual. Formerly, he was anxious to maintain the standard of an English barrister. Now he began, in his usual methodical but original fashion, to reduce his wants and his expenses. He "studied the art" of laundering and became his own washerman. He could now iron and starch a stiff white collar. He also learnt to cut his own hair. He not only cleaned his own chamber-pots but often of his guests as well. Not satisfied with self-help, he volunteered, despite his busy practice as a lawyer and the demands of public work, his free service for two hours a day as a compounder in a charitable hospital. He also undertook the education at home of his two sons and a nephew. He read books on nursing and midwifery and in fact served as midwife when his fourth and last son was born.

In 1899 the Boer War broke out. Though Gandhi's sympathies were all with the Boers who were fighting for their independence, he advised the Indian community to support the British cause, on the ground that since they claimed their rights as British subjects it was their duty to defend the Empire when it was threatened. He therefore organized and, with the help of Dr. Booth, trained an Indian Ambulance Corps of 1,100 volunteers and offered its services to the Government. The Corps under Gandhi's leadership rendered valuable service and was mentioned in dispatches. What pleased Gandhi most was the fact that Indians of all creeds and castes lived and faced danger together. All his life nothing gave him greater happiness than the sight of men working as brothers and rising above the prejudices of creed, caste or race.

In 1901, at the end of the war, Gandhi felt that he must now return to India. His professional success in South Africa might, he feared, turn him into a "money-maker". With great difficulty he persuaded his friends to let him go and promised to return should the community need him within a year.

He reached India in time to attend the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress and had the satisfaction of seeing his resolution on South Africa pass with acclamation. He was however disappointed with the Congress. He felt that the Indian politicians talked too much and did too little. He deplored the importance given to the English language in their discussions and was pained to see the insanitary condition of the latrines in the camp.

After staying for a few days in Calcutta as Gokhale's guest, he went on a tour of India, travelling third class in order to study for himself the habits and difficulties of the poor. He observed that the extreme discomfort of third class travel in India was due as much to the indifference of the railway authorities as to the dirty habits of the passengers themselves and suggested that educated persons should voluntarily travel third so as to reform the people's habits and be in a position to ventilate their legitimate grievances. The diagnosis as well as the remedy suggested were characteristic of his approach to all social and political problems—equal emphasis on obligations as on rights.

Gandhi was not destined to work in India yet. Hardly had he set up in practice in Bombay when a cablegram from the Indian Community in Natal recalled him. He had given them his word that he would return if needed. Leaving his family in India he sailed again.

He had been called to put the Indian case before Joseph Chamberlain who was visiting South Africa. But the Colonial Secretary who had come to receive a gift of thirty-five million pounds from South Africa had no mind to alienate the European community. Gandhi failed in his mission to win Chamberlain's sympathy and discovered in the process that the situation in the Transvaal had become ominous for the Indians. He therefore decided to stay on in Johannesburg and enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court.

Though he stayed on specifically to challenge European arrogance and to resist injustice, he harboured no hatred in his heart and was in fact always ready to help his opponents when they were in distress. It was this rare combination of readiness to resist wrong and capacity to love his opponent which baffled his enemies and compelled their admiration. When the so-called Zulu rebellion broke out, he again offered his help to the Government and raised an Indian Ambulance Corps. He was happy that he and his men had to nurse the sick and dying Zulus whom the white doctors and nurses were unwilling to touch.

It was during these marches through the Zulu country that he pondered deeply over the kind of life he should lead in order to dedicate himself completely to the service of humanity. He realized that absolute continence or Brahmacharya was indispensable for the purpose, for one "could not live both after the flesh and the spirit". And so immediately after his return from the Zulu campaign in 1906, he announced his resolution to take a vow of absolute continence to a select group of friends.

This step was taken under the influence of the Bhagavad Gita which he had been reading regularly every morning for some time and committing to memory. Another doctrine of the Gita which influenced him profoundly was "non-possession". As soon as he realized its implications he allowed his insurance policy of Rs. 10,000 to lapse. Henceforth he would put his faith in God alone.

Next to the Gita, the book which influenced him most deeply was Ruskin's *Unto This Last* which his friend Polak had given him to read one day in 1904. What Ruskin preached, or rather what Gandhi understood him to preach, was the moral dignity of manual labour and the beauty of community living on the basis of equality. Since, unlike Ruskin, Gandhi could not appreciate an ideal without wanting to practise it, he immediately set about to buy a farm where such a life could be lived. Thus was founded the famous Phoenix colony, on a hundred acres of land, some fourteen miles from Durban.

But Gandhi could not stay long at Phoenix. Duty called him to Johannesburg where also, later, he founded another colony on similar ideals, at a distance of twenty-one miles from the city. He called it the Tolstoy Farm. In both these ashrams, as settlements organized on spiritual ideals are known in India, the inmates did all the work themselves, from cooking to scavenging. Extreme simplicity of life was observed, reinforced by a strict code of moral and physical hygiene. No medicines were kept, for Gandhi who had earlier read Adolf Just's *Return to Nature* believed profoundly in nature cure. Every inmate had to practise some handicraft. Gandhi himself learnt to make sandals.

He foresaw that a showdown with the South African Government was sooner or later inevitable and knew from his own individual experience that no brute force could quell the spirit of man ready to defy and willing to suffer. What he could do himself he could train others to do. Individual resistance could be expanded and organized into a mass struggle in the prosecution of a moral equivalent of war. He had read Tolstoy and Thoreau and was happy to find partial confirmation of his idea in their writings. Thoreau's use of the term "civil disobedience" did not seem to express Gandhi's own concept of *ahimsa* as a positive force of love, nor did he like the use of the phrase "passive resistance". The concept was now clearly formulated in his mind but the word to describe it was wanting. His cousin Maganlal Gandhi suggested *Sadagraha*, meaning holding fast to truth or firmness in a righteous cause. Gandhi liked the term and changed it to *Satyagraha*. Thus was evolved and formulated Gandhi's most original idea in political action.

The occasion was not long in coming. In 1907, when the Transvaal received responsible government, it passed what came to be known as the Black Act, requiring all Indians, men and women, to register and submit to finger prints. Gandhi advised the Indian community to refuse to submit to this indignity and to court imprisonment by defying the law. In January 1908 he was arrested and sentenced to two months simple imprisonment. He was followed by other *satyagrahis*.

Before the prison term was over General Smuts sent him an emissary proposing that if the Indians *voluntarily* registered themselves he promised to repeal the Act. Gandhi agreed to the compromise. He always believed in trusting the opponent. But the other Indians were not so trusting. One burly Pathan even charged Gandhi with having betrayed them and threatened to kill him if he registered. On the day Gandhi went out to register he was waylaid and attacked by this and other Pathans and severely injured. When he recovered consciousness and was told that his assailants had been arrested he insisted on their being released.

Gandhi registered, but his disappointment was great when Smuts went back on his word and refused to repeal the Black Act. The Indians made a bonfire of their registration certificates and decided to defy the ban on immigration to the Transvaal. Jails began to be filled. Gandhi was arrested a second time in September 1908 and sentenced to two months' imprisonment, this time with hard labour. The struggle continued. In February 1909, he was arrested a third time and sentenced to three months' hard labour. He made such good use of his time in jail with study and prayer that he was able to declare that "the

real road to ultimate happiness lies in going to jail and undergoing sufferings and privations there in the interest of one's own country and religion."

In 1911, a provisional settlement of the Asiatic question in the Transvaal brought about a suspension of the *satyagraha*. In the following year, Gokhale visited South Africa and on the eve of his departure assured Gandhi that the Union Government had promised to repeal the Black Act, to remove the racial bar from the immigration law and to abolish the £3 tax. But Gandhi had his fears which were soon borne out. The Union Government went back on its promise, and to this fire was added a very powerful fuel when a judgment of the Supreme Court ruled that only Christian marriages were legal in South Africa, thus turning at one stroke all Indian marriages in South Africa invalid and all Indian wives into concubines. This provoked Indian women, including Kasturbai, to join the struggle.

It was illegal for the Indians to cross the border from the Transvaal into Natal, and *vice versa*, without a permit. Indian women from the Tolstoy ashram crossed the border without permits and proceeded to Newcastle to persuade the Indian miners there to strike. They succeeded and were arrested. The strike spread and thousands of miners and other Indians prepared, under Gandhi's leadership, to march to the Transvaal border in a concerted act of non-violent defiance. Gandhi made strict rules for the conduct of the *satyagrahis* who were to submit patiently and without retaliation to insult, flogging or arrest. He was arrested and sentenced, but the *satyagraha* spread. At one time there were about fifty thousand indentured labourers on strike and several thousand other Indians in jail. The Government tried repression and even shooting, and many lives were lost. "In the end," as an American biographer has put it, "General Smuts did what every Government that ever opposed Gandhi had to do—he yielded."

Gandhi was released and, in January 1914, a provisional agreement was arrived at between him and General Smuts and the main Indian demands were conceded. Gandhi's work in South Africa was now over and, in July 1914, he sailed with his wife for England where Gokhale had called him. Before sailing, he sent a pair of sandals he had made in jail to General Smuts as a gift. Recalling the gift twenty-five years later, the General wrote : "I have worn these sandals for many a summer since then, even though I may feel that I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man."

Great Soul in Beggar's Garb

IN April 1893, Gandhi had sailed for South Africa, a young and inexperienced barrister in search of fortune. In January 1915 he finally returned to India, a Mahatma, with no possessions and with only one ambition—to serve his people. Though the intelligentsia had heard of his exploits in South Africa, he was not much known in India and Indians in general did not realize that "the Great Soul in beggar's garb", as the poet Tagore called him later, had reached her shores. Nor did he know his India well. He therefore readily promised his "political guru", Gokhale, that he would spend the first year in India studying the country, with "his ears open but his mouth shut".

At the end of his year's wanderings, Gandhi settled down on the bank of the river Sabarmati, on the outskirts of Ahmedabad, where he founded an ashram in May 1915. He called it the Satyagraha Ashram. The inmates, about twenty-five men and women, took the vows of truth, ahimsa, celibacy, non-stealing, non-possession and control of the palate, and dedicated themselves to the service of the people.

Gandhi's first public address in India was on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Banaras Hindu University in February 1916, which was distinguished by the presence of many magnates and princes and of the Viceroy himself. Speaking in English he shocked them all by expressing his "deep humiliation and shame" at being compelled "to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me." He shocked them more when turning to the bejewelled princes he said: "There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India." Many princes walked out.

His first *satyagraha* in India was in Champaran, in Bihar, where he went in 1917 at

the request of a poor peasant to inquire into the grievances of the much exploited peasants of that district, who were compelled by British indigo planters to grow indigo on 15 per cent of their land and part with the whole crop for rent. The news that a Mahatma had arrived to inquire into their sufferings spread like wild fire and thousands of peasants left their villages to have his *darshan* and to tell him of their woes The vested interests were up in arms and the police superintendent ordered Gandhi to leave the district Gandhi refused and was summoned to appear in court the next day Thousands of peasants followed him there The embarrassed magistrate postponed the trial and released him without bail, for Gandhi refused to furnish any

Later, the case was withdrawn and Gandhi proceeded with his inquiry Along with the inquiry, he educated the peasants in the principles of *satyagraha* and taught them that the first condition of freedom was freedom from fear He sent for volunteers who helped to instruct the illiterate and ignorant peasants in elementary hygiene and ran schools for their children This kind of activity was typical of Gandhi Even as he taught the people to fight for their rights, he taught them to fulfil their obligations A free people must learn to stand on their feet But the more he worked for the people the less was his presence welcome to the Government who were at last obliged to set up a committee of inquiry The report of the committee of which Gandhi was a member went in favour of the tenant farmers The success of his first experiment in *satyagraha* in India greatly enhanced Gandhi's reputation in this country

Hardly had his work in Champaran been done when Gandhi was called to his ashram at Sabarmati by an urgent appeal from the textile workers of Ahmedabad whose dispute with the mill owners was taking a serious turn Having satisfied himself that the workers demands were legitimate and the mill-owners' refusal to submit the dispute to arbitration unreasonable, Gandhi asked the workers to strike, on condition that they took a pledge to remain non violent They agreed, but after a few days their zeal began to flag and Gandhi feared that they might break the pledge and resort to violence Since it was the fear of starvation which drove the workers to desperation, Gandhi decided to starve himself He declared that he would not touch food until a settlement had been reached At the end of three days, both parties agreed on an arbitration amid general rejoicing

Almost immediately after came the agrarian trouble in the Kheda district of Gujarat The peasants who were on the verge of starvation were being forced by the Government to pay the usual tax Gandhi advised *satyagraha* and persuaded all the peasants the well to do as well as the poor to take a pledge not to pay any tax until those who could not pay were granted remission The no tax campaign lasted for about four months at the end of which the Government suspended the assessment for the poor peasants

Now there took place an event which still baffles the pacifists in the West In 1917, the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford invited Gandhi to a War Conference convened in Delhi to enlist the support of Indian leaders for the recruitment campaign At that time Gandhi believed that the British Empire was on the whole a power for good and that since India had on the whole benefited by the British connection it was the duty of every Indian to help the Empire in the hour of its need Gandhi not only supported the resolution of the War Conference but actually toured the Kheda district (where previously he had led the peasants in *satyagraha*) to persuade people to enlist

Mahatma and the Masses

IT was the Rowlatt Bill with its denial of civil liberties which finally brought Gandhi into active Indian politics From 1919 to his death in 1948, he occupied the centre of the Indian stage and was the hero of the great historical drama which culminated in the independence of his country He changed the entire character of the political scene in India He himself did not change He only grew In the thick of the battle he remained a man of God

Since the Rowlatt Bill was not a local issue and the struggle was to be launched on an all-India

refused to continue the campaign and undertook a fast for five days to atone for a crime committed by others in a state of mob hysteria Many of his colleagues protested and though Gandhi admitted that "the drastic reversal of practically the whole of the aggressive programme may be politically unsound and unwise," he maintained that "there is no doubt that it is religiously sound" He felt that "it is a million times better to *appear* untrue before the world than to *be* untrue to ourselves" Where Gandhi's conscience was concerned he was always ready to stand alone

However, the immediate result was that the British Government found this anti-climax a convenient opportunity to arrest him He told the English judge at the trial "I have no personal ill-will against any single administrator, much less can I have any disaffection towards the King's person But I hold it a virtue to be disaffected toward a government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system India is less manly under British rule than ever before Holding such a belief I consider it a sin to have any affection for the system The only course open to you, the Judge, is either to resign your post and thus dissociate yourself from evil, if you feel that the law you are called upon to administer is an evil and that in reality I am innocent ; or to inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country, and that my activity is, therefore, injurious to the public weal"

The judge sentenced him to six years' simple imprisonment and expressed the hope that "if the course of events in India should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I"

Prison was for Gandhi more a luxury than a punishment He could devote more time to prayer, study and spinning than he could outside But in January 1924 he fell seriously ill with acute appendicitis He was removed to a hospital in Poona where a British surgeon performed the operation While he was convalescing he was released by the Government

What he saw of India as a free man greatly pained him At the time of his arrest he had left his people on the wave of a great moral upsurge which had united Hindus and Muslims as never before But in the meanwhile the Khilafat issue had been killed by Kamal Ataturk The Muslims no longer needed Hindu support, the two communities had drifted apart There were communal riots in several places Not knowing how to stem this tide of frustration, he undertook a fast of twenty-one days to atone once again for the sins of his people "It seems as if God has been dethroned," he said, announcing the fast "Let us reinstate Him in our hearts" The fast caused considerable heart searching, and long before it was over, pledges of amity poured in upon him from men of various communities

For the next five years Gandhi seemingly retired from active agitational politics and devoted himself to the propagation of what he regarded as the basic national needs, namely, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, equality of women, popularization of hand-spinning and the reconstruction of village economy in general "I am not interested," he wrote in June 1923 "in freeing India merely from the English yoke I am bent upon freeing India from any yoke whatsoever" The two movements, for political freedom and for social and economic freedom, must go together

There was also the fact that Gandhi, on his release from prison had found the Congress divided By 1929, however the various groups had once more rallied under his leadership, and when on the last day of that year he himself moved the Resolution in the Congress session declaring complete independence as the goal of Congress policy, it was obvious that he was again ready to lead the nation in an open challenge to British rule He drew up a pledge of "Purna Swaraj' or complete independence which was taken by millions throughout the country on January 26, 1930 which day has been celebrated as Independence Day ever since All eyes were now turned to Sabarmati What will the wizard of non violence do next?

On March 12, 1930 after having duly informed the Viceroy, Gandhi, followed by seventy eight members of his ashram, both men and women, began his historic 24-day march to the sea beach at Dandi to break the law which had deprived the poor man of his right to make his own salt This seemed a small issue, but the dramatic manner in which he announced and executed the plan, the march on foot of this unarmed man of God for 241 miles, with villagers flocking from miles around to kneel by the roadside, set the imagination of the nation aflame and roused enthusiasm such as no one had anticipated Early in

the morning of April 6, after prayers, he went to the beach and picked up a little lump of salt left by the waves. This simple act was immediately followed by a nation-wide defiance of the law. Men and women, simple villagers and sophisticated city folk, marched in thousands to invite arrest, police lathi charges and even shooting in many cases. Gandhi himself was arrested on May 4, soon after midnight. Within a few weeks about a hundred thousand men and women were in jail, throwing the mighty machinery of the British Government out of gear.

When the First Round Table Conference met in November 1930, the Labour Government was faced with an embarrassing situation. At the closing session of the Conference, on January 19, 1931, Ramsay MacDonald expressed the hope that the Congress would be represented at the Second Round Table Conference. Gandhi and some other Congress leaders were therefore unconditionally released on January 26, exactly a year after the first independence pledge had been taken. Soon after, on February 14, the Gandhi-Irwin talks began—to the disgust of Winston Churchill, who was scandalized at "the nauseating and humiliating spectacle of this one-time Inner Temple Lawyer, now seditious fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceroy's palace, there to negotiate a parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor."

Interlude in England and a Christmas Gift

ON March 5 was signed the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and on August 29 Gandhi sailed for London to attend the Second Round Table Conference as the sole delegate of the Congress. "There is every chance of my returning empty-handed," he said, as he embarked. He was right. But though he returned empty-handed, his visit was not without good results. He had by now become a legend and fantastic stories, some kind, some malicious, had spread about him. It was good therefore for the British people to see for themselves how simple, kindly and irresistible was the charm of his personality, how universal his sympathies, how keen his humour and infectious his laughter.

In London, he declined to go to a hotel and stayed at Kingsley Hall, a social service centre in the East End, where he soon won the hearts of the young and old. His kindliness and his humour broke down the barriers of national and race prejudice. When asked why he chose to wear only a loin-cloth, he replied, "You people wear plus-fours, mine are minus-fours." He went to Lancashire where his agitation against foreign cloth had caused unemployment. The workers cheered him and one of the unemployed said : "I am one of the unemployed, but if I was in India I would say the same thing that Mr. Gandhi is saying."

On his way back he visited Romain Rolland in Switzerland. It was at a meeting of the pacifists at Lausanne that he explained, why rather than say, God is Truth, he would say, Truth is God.

The day he reached Bombay he said : "I am not conscious of a single experience throughout my three months' stay in England and Europe that made me feel that after all East is East and West is West. On the contrary, I have been convinced more than ever that human nature is much the same, no matter under what clime it flourishes, and that if you approached people with trust and affection you would have ten-fold trust and thousand-fold affection returned to you."

But the immediate experience that awaited him hardly bore out this optimism. Even before he had reached India, the effect of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact had been destroyed by the repressive policy of the new Viceroy, Lord Willingdon. India was being ruled by Ordinances, and shootings and arrests had become the order of the day. Jawaharlal Nehru who was coming to Bombay to receive Gandhi was arrested on the way. "I take it," said Gandhi when he landed on December 28, 1931, "that these are Christmas gifts from Lord Willingdon, our Christian Viceroy." A week later Gandhi himself was arrested and locked up in the Yeravada Jail without trial.

This time he was not "happy as a bird" as he usually was behind prison walls, for his mind was agitated by the news that the British Government proposed to introduce in the new constitution for India, separate electorates not only for the

Muslims but for the "untouchables" as well, thereby causing a permanent vivisection of the Hindu community He therefore wrote to Ramsay MacDonald announcing his resolve to undertake "a fast unto death" In the early hours of the morning of September 20, he wrote a letter to Tagore "This is early morning, 3 o'clock of Tuesday I enter the fiery gates at noon If you can bless the effort I want it You have been a true friend because you have been a candid friend " Even as he handed the letter to be posted came a telegram from Tagore "It is worth sacrificing the precious life for the sake of India's unity and her social integrity   Our sorrowing hearts will follow your sublime penance with reverence and love "

Tagore's words expressed the sentiment of the whole nation The fiery gates which Gandhi thus voluntarily entered scorched the heart of every Hindu The conscience of the Hindu community was roused as never before Every one shared the guilt for the curse of untouchability and if Gandhi died in this penance the sin would rest on all After five days of acute national suspense and anxiety, the leaders of the caste Hindus and of the "untouchables", whom Gandhi called Harijans (children of God), signed a pact which was acceptable to Gandhi On the following day, when Gandhi's condition was causing grave anxiety to the doctors, came the news that the British Government had accepted the new formula In the afternoon, Gandhi broke the fast If any single act can be said to have broken the backbone of untouchability in India, it was this fast Even before it ended, Hindus and Harijans were publicly fraternizing in the streets of all cities and many orthodox temples had been thrown open to the Harijans

For the next six years Gandhi's main energies were devoted to the uplift of the Harijans and the propagation of a comprehensive plan for village reconstruction, including education He ceaselessly preached Hindu-Muslim unity and tried to wean the impetuous youth from the cult of violence and terrorism He handed over the Sabarmati Ashram to a Harijan Society and shifted his residence to another ashram at Wardha "India lives in her villages, not in her cities," he said "When I succeed in ridding the villages of their poverty, I have won Swaraj " His ideas had undergone a gradual almost imperceptible change, since he wrote *Hind Swaraj*, a quarter of a century ago His antipathy to industrialism had been reinforced by its association with foreign imperialism "No sophistry, no jugglery in figures," he had written in 1922, 'can explain away the evidence that the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers of India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps unequalled in history " Meanwhile, his understanding of the nature of machine production had both widened and deepened ' What I object to," he said in 1924, "is the *craze* for machinery, not machinery as such   The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might " Like all truly great minds Gandhi's sympathies grew wider with age and his understanding calmer and deeper

"Quit India"

WITH the outbreak of the war in 1939, Gandhi was dragged back into the political arena He had loyally supported the Empire in the First World War In the Boer War, even though his moral sympathies were with the Boers who were fighting for their independence, he had offered his services to the Empire out of a sense of loyalty His feelings were different now, though, as he stated, "my sympathies are wholly with the Allies" He had come to believe "all war to be wholly wrong " He was also aware of the anomaly in Britain's position in fighting for freedom while denying India hers There were many patriots in India who felt that this was the hour to strike since Britain's difficulty was India's opportunity But Gandhi refused to countenance such an attitude "We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin That is not the way of non-violence "

The majority of Congress leaders would have welcomed participation in the war effort, provided India could do so as an equal partner with Britain

Gandhi did not believe in conditional non-violence, but he was realistic enough to know that he could not carry the majority of the Congress leaders, who were at best *patriot-politicians*, not saints, along the arduous path of absolute non-violence. Nor was he vain enough to insist on the Congress accepting his terms as the price of his leadership, though he knew that in the impending political crisis the Party could not do without him. He therefore effaced himself and advised the nation to accept the Congress stand and pleaded with the British on its behalf.

But the British Government was in no mood to listen and Winston Churchill was frank enough to say that he had not become "the King's First Minister in order to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire." In the meanwhile, the situation rapidly deteriorated. The British were unable to stem the Japanese advance to the Indian border. The people were becoming increasingly restive and impatient, and Gandhi feared that if this excitement were not given an organized non-violent expression, it would break out in sporadic disorder and violence. Since the British did not seem able at that time to ensure India's defence and were not willing to let India defend herself, Gandhi called upon them to "quit India" and prepared to organize *satyagraha*. Addressing the historic session of the All India Congress Committee on August 7, 1942, he said : "Our quarrel is not with the British people ; we fight their imperialism. The proposal for the withdrawal of British power did not come out of anger. It came to enable India to play its due part at the present critical juncture."

He had not yet formulated any clear plan of action. In any case, he wanted to see the Viceroy before doing so. But the initiative was taken away from his hands, for in the early hours of the morning of August 9, he and other leaders of the Congress were arrested. Disorders broke out immediately all over India, many of them violent. The Government having deprived the people of non-violent leadership answered violence with greater violence till India virtually became a country under armed occupation.

Gandhi was interned in the Aga Khan's palace near Poona. He was greatly perturbed by the terror reigning in the country and at the British Government's charge that he was responsible for violence. He entered into a long correspondence with the Government which ended in his fasting for twenty-one days. During the fast, which began on February 10, 1943, his condition grew very critical and it was feared that he would not survive. Fortunately he did. This period in prison was one of tribulation and tragedy for Gandhi. Six days after his arrest, Mahadev Desai, his secretary and companion for twenty-four years, died suddenly of heart failure. In December 1943, Kasturbai fell ill and in February of the following year she, too, died.

The mental strain he had gone through since his arrest told on Gandhi's health and six weeks after Kasturbai's death he had a severe attack of malaria. On May 3, the doctor's bulletin described his general condition as "giving rise to anxiety." The Government, embarrassed by the public agitation caused by the news of his illness, released him unconditionally on May 6. For a long time after, he was so weak that to conserve his energy he was obliged to observe long periods of silence.

But weak or strong, he could not sit idle and watch the situation in the country rapidly deteriorating. He asked to see the Viceroy but Lord Wavell declined to meet him. He knew that the British were encouraging Muslim demands to keep the Hindus and Muslims divided and were using this difference as an excuse for their continued occupation of India. All through his political career he had worked passionately for Hindu-Muslim accord. In 1919, he had made the Khilafat cause his own and had later fasted to bring about communal harmony. But the more he tried to placate the Muslims the more adamant and extravagant grew their demands until their leader Jinnah would be satisfied with nothing less than a separate State for the Muslims.

THE British were unable to control the situation in India which was steadily becoming worse Famine and disorder had sapped the foundations of imperial prestige Britain emerged from the war victorious but physically exhausted and morally sober The General Elections of 1945 returned Labour to power and Mr Attlee, the British Prime Minister, unwilling to lose India altogether by persisting in the Churchillian policy of blood and iron, promised "an early realization of self-government in India" In the meanwhile, elections were to be held and a constituent assembly convened to frame a constitution for a united India A Cabinet Mission arrived from England to discuss with Indian leaders the future shape of a free and united India, but failed to bring the Congress and Muslim League together Having encouraged Muslim separatism the British were now unable to control it

On August 12, 1946, the Viceroy invited Jawaharlal Nehru to form an interim government Jinnah declared a "Direct Action Day" in Bengal which resulted in an orgy of bloodshed Shootings and stabbings took place in many places in India This blood-red prologue to freedom was pure agony for Gandhi He was then staying in the untouchables' quarters in Delhi from where day after day he raised his voice against violence But his voice then seemed a voice in the wilderness

Then came the news of a large-scale outbreak of violence against the Hindu minority in the Noakhali district of East Bengal Gandhi could no longer sit quiet He must beard the lion in his own den and teach the two communities to live and let live if necessary at the cost of his life If he could not do that his message of non-violence had fallen on deaf ears and the freedom to which he had brought India so near was not the freedom he had dreamt of And so, against the pleadings of his Congress colleagues, who did not wish that he should risk his life, he left for Noakhali in Bengal where the Muslim League government was in power While in Calcutta, he heard that the Hindus of Bihar had retaliated against the Muslims, repeating the outrages of Noakhali Bitter sorrow filled Gandhi's heart, for he always felt the misdeeds of his co-religionists more acutely than he did of others, and Bihar was the land where he had launched his first *satyagraha* in India As penance, he resolved to keep himself "on the lowest diet possible" which would become "a fast unto death if the erring Biharis have not turned over a new leaf" Fortunately, "the erring Biharis" were restored to sanity by this warning and Gandhi proceeded to Noakhali

In the noble book of Gandhi's life this chapter is the noblest Just when political freedom was almost achieved and the State apparatus of power was his for the asking, he renounced it and embraced the hazards of a lone pilgrimage to plant the message of love and courage in a wilderness of hatred and terror In a region where 80 per cent of the people were Muslim, most of whom hostile, where there were hardly any roads and almost no means of modern communication, where hundreds of Hindus had been butchered, their women raped and thousands forcibly converted and where hordes of unruly fanatics still roamed the countryside in search of loot and fresh victims, Gandhi pitched his camp, refusing police protection and keeping only one Bengali interpreter and one stenographer with him At the age of seventy-seven, he went bare footed from village to village through a most difficult countryside where low, marshy patches had to be crossed on precarious, improvised bridges of bamboo poles He lived on local fruit and vegetables and worked day and night to plant courage in the hearts of the Hindus and love in the hearts of the Muslims 'I have only one object in view and it is a clear one namely, that God should purify the hearts of Hindus and Muslims and the two communities should be free from suspicion and fear of one another '

Thus he lived and suffered and taught in Noakhali from November 7, 1946, to March 2 1947, when he had to leave for Bihar in answer to persistent requests In Bihar also he did what he had done in Noakhali He went from village to village, mostly on foot, asking people to make amends for the wrongs they had done to the Muslims Unlike Noakhali, he was besieged by worshipping crowds wherever he went in Bihar He collected money for the relief of the injured and homeless Muslims Many women gave away their jewellery Harrowing tales were pouring in of the massacre of the Hindus in Rawalpindi and in the Punjab and but for Gandhi's presence the Biharis might have again lost their heads in a frenzy of retaliation "If ever you become mad again, you must destroy me first," he told them

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Thus he lived and suffered and taught in Noakhali from November 7, 1946, to March 2, 1947, when he had to leave for Bihar in answer to persistent requests In Bihar also, he did what he had done in Noakhali He went from village to village, mostly on foot, asking people to make amends for the wrongs they had done to the Muslims Unlike Noakhali, he was besieged by worshipping crowds wherever he went in Bihar He collected money for the relief of the injured and homeless Muslims Many women gave away their jewellery Harrowing tales were pouring in of the massacre of the Hindus in Rawalpindi and in the Punjab and but for Gandhi's presence the Biharis might have again lost their heads in a frenzy of retaliation "If ever you become mad again, you must destroy me first," he told them

In May 1947, he was called to Delhi where the new Viceroy Lord Mountbatten had succeeded in persuading the Congress leaders to accept Jinnah's insistent demand for the partition of India as a condition precedent for British withdrawal. Gandhi was against partition at any cost but he was unable to convince the Congress leaders of the wisdom of his stand.

On August 15, 1947, India was partitioned and became free. Gandhi declined to attend the celebrations in the capital and went to Calcutta where communal riots were still raging. And then on the day of independence a miracle happened. A year-old riot stopped as if by magic and Hindus and Muslims began to fraternize with one another. Gandhi spent the day in fast and prayer. Unfortunately, however, the communal frenzy broke loose again on August 31, and while he was staying in a Muslim house, the safety of his own person was threatened. On the following day he went on a fast which was "to end only if and when sanity returns to Calcutta". The effect was magical. Those who had indulged in loot, arson and murder amid shouts of glee, came and knelt by his bedside and begged for forgiveness. On September 4, the leaders of all communities in the city brought him a signed pledge that Calcutta would see no more of such outrages. Then Gandhi broke the fast. Calcutta kept the pledge even when many other cities were plunged in violence in the wake of Partition.

When Gandhi returned to Delhi in September 1947, the city was in the grip of communal hysteria. Ghastly tales of what had happened to Hindus and Sikhs in West Pakistan had kindled passions which burst into a conflagration when the uprooted victims of this tragedy poured into the city. In a frenzy of vengeance Hindus and Sikhs had taken the law into their hands and were looting Muslim houses, seizing mosques and stabbing innocent passers-by. The Government had taken stern measures but it was helpless without public co-operation. Into this chaos of fear and terror came this little man in the loin cloth to bring courage to the frightened, comfort to the afflicted and sanity to the frenzied.

On his birthday, October 2, when messages and greetings poured in from all over the world, he asked : "Where do congratulations come in? Would it not be more appropriate to send condolences? There is nothing but anguish in my heart . . . I cannot live while hatred and killing mar the atmosphere."

His anguish continued and increased. Though his presence had calmed the fury in Delhi, sporadic violence had occurred. The tension was still there and the Muslims could not move about freely in the streets. Gandhi was anxious to go to Pakistan to help the harassed and frightened minorities there but could not leave Delhi until the mood of the people was such as to assure him that the madness would not flare up again. He felt helpless and since, as he put it, "I have never put up with helplessness in all my life," he went on a fast on January 13, 1948. "God sent me the fast," he said. He asked people not to worry about him and to "turn the searchlight inward".

It was turned, though it is difficult to say how deep the light penetrated. On January 18, after a week of painful suspense and anxiety, representatives of various communities and organizations in Delhi, including the militant Hindu organization known as the R.S.S., came to Birla House where Gandhi lay on a cot, weak but cheerful, and gave him a written pledge that "we shall protect the life, property and faith of the Muslims and that the incidents which have taken place in Delhi will not happen again". Gandhi then broke the fast amid the chanting of passages from the various scriptures of the world.

Though the fast had touched the hearts of millions all over the world, its effect on the Hindu extremists was different. They were incensed at the success of the fast and felt that Gandhi had blackmailed the Hindu conscience to appease Pakistan.

On the second day after the fast while Gandhi was at his usual evening prayers, a bomb was thrown at him. Fortunately it missed the mark. Gandhi sat unmoved and continued his discourse.

It had been his practice for many years to pray with the crowd. Every evening, wherever he was, he held his prayers in an open ground, facing a large congregation. No orthodox ritual was followed at these prayers. Verses from the scriptures of various religions were recited and hymns sung. At the end Gandhi would address a few words in Hindi to the congregation, not necessarily on a religious theme but on any topic of the day. Whatever the topic, he raised it to a moral and spiritual plane so that even when he talked of a political issue it was as if a religious man were teaching the way of righteousness.

Sometimes these congregations were of a few hundred only and sometimes they ran into hundreds of thousands, depending on the place

where the prayers were held Men of all faiths and of all political persuasions were free to come There was no restriction Sitting on a raised platform he was always an easy target So far the only protection he had needed was from the unbounded adulation of the adoring crowds anxious to touch his feet as is the Hindu way of showing reverence But now the times were unhappy Violent passions had been aroused Hatred was in the air Hindu fanatics were impatient with his doctrine of love and looked upon him as the main stumbling block to their lust for vengeance against Muslim atrocities in Pakistan As in Pakistan, so here, the cry of religion in danger served as a cloak of idealism for the demon of barbaric passions He had been warned The police were nervous But Gandhi refused any kind of police protection He cared not to live except by the power of love Forty years earlier when his life was threatened by a Pathan in South Africa, he had replied " Death is the appointed end of all life To die by the hand of a brother, rather than by disease or in such other way, cannot be for me a matter of sorrow And if, even in such a case, I am free from the thought of anger or hatred against my assailant, I know that will redound to my eternal welfare "

These sublime words proved to be prophetic On January 30, 1948, ten days after the bomb incident, Gandhi hurriedly went up the few steps of the prayer ground in the large park of the Birla House He had been detained by a conference with the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and was late by a few minutes He loved punctuality and was worried that he had kept the congregation waiting " I am late by ten minutes," he murmured " I should be here at the stroke of five " He raised his hands and touched the palms together to greet the crowd that was waiting Every one returned the greeting Many came forward wanting to touch his feet They were not allowed to do so, as Gandhi was already late But a young Hindu from Poona forced his way forward and while seeming to do obeisance fired three point-blank shots from a small automatic pistol aimed at the heart Gandhi fell, his lips uttering the name of God (He Ram) Before medical aid could arrive the heart had ceased to beat—the heart that had beat only with love of man

Thus died the Mahatma, at the hands of one of his own people, to the eternal glory of what he had lived for and to the eternal shame of those who failed to understand that he was the best representative of the religion for which he suffered martyrdom

The nation's feeling was best expressed by Prime Minister Nehru when with a trembling voice and a heart full of grief he gave the news to the people on the radio

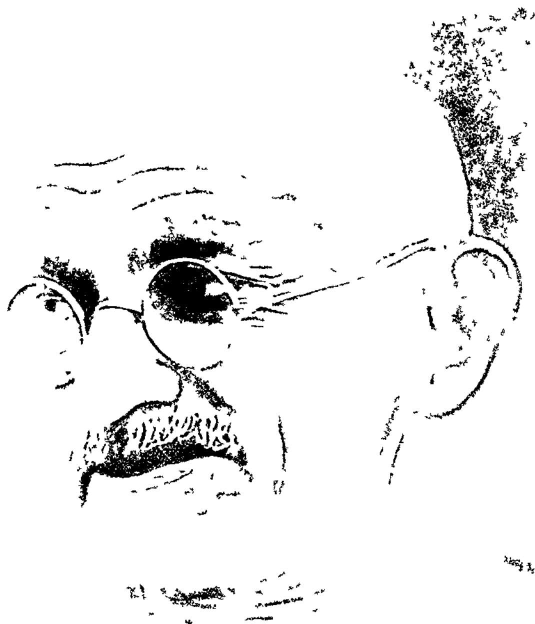
'The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere and I do not quite know what to tell you and how to say it Our beloved leader, Bapu as we call him, the father of our nation, is no more The light has gone out, I said, and yet I was wrong For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light The light that has illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years, and a thousand years later that light will still be seen in this country, and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts For that light represented the living truth, and the eternal man was with us with his eternal truth reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom '

Such men cannot die, for they live in their achievements His were many, each one of which, judged by the greatness of its execution or in its results for human welfare, would have made his name immortal anywhere in the world He brought freedom from foreign subjection to a fifth of the human race The freedom he wrought for India naturally includes that of Pakistan for the latter was an offshoot of the former Of no less importance was what he did for those who were once known as the untouchables He freed millions of human beings from the shackles of caste tyranny and social indignity By his insistence that freedom was to be measured by the well-being of the millions who live in the villages, he laid the foundation for a new way of life which may one day well provide an effective alternative to both a regimented and to an acquisitive economy His martyrdom shamed his people out of communal hysteria and helped to establish the secular and democratic character of the Indian State

The moral influence of his personality and of his gospel and technique of non-violence cannot be weighed in any material scale Nor is its value limited to any particular country or generation It is his imperishable gift to humanity



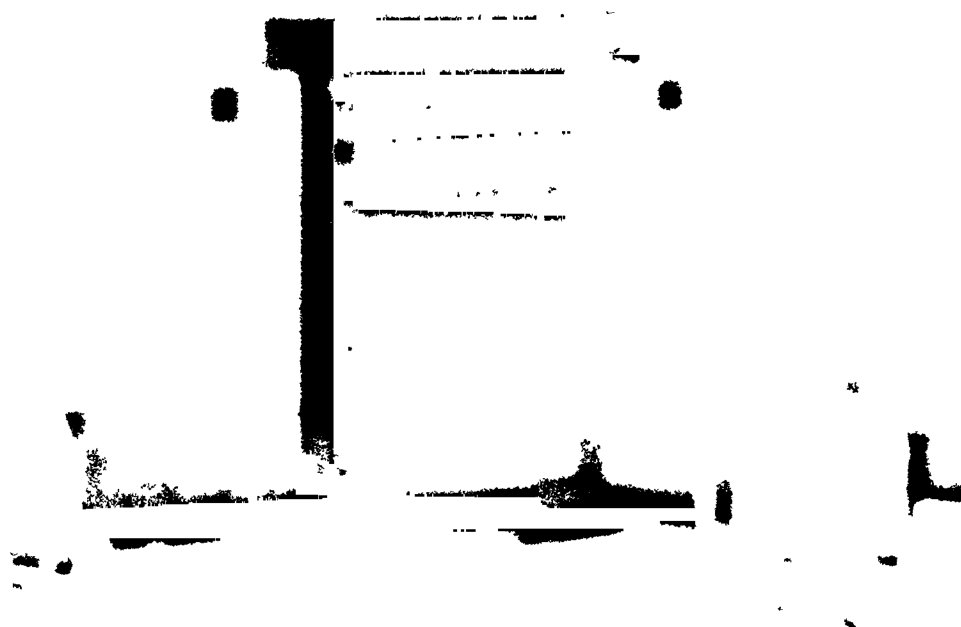


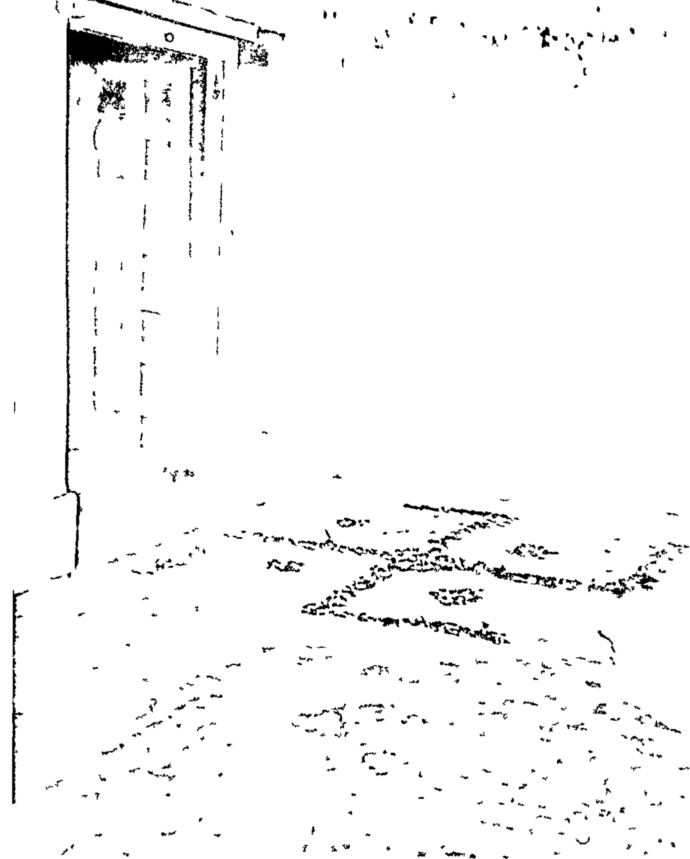



1869 - 1893

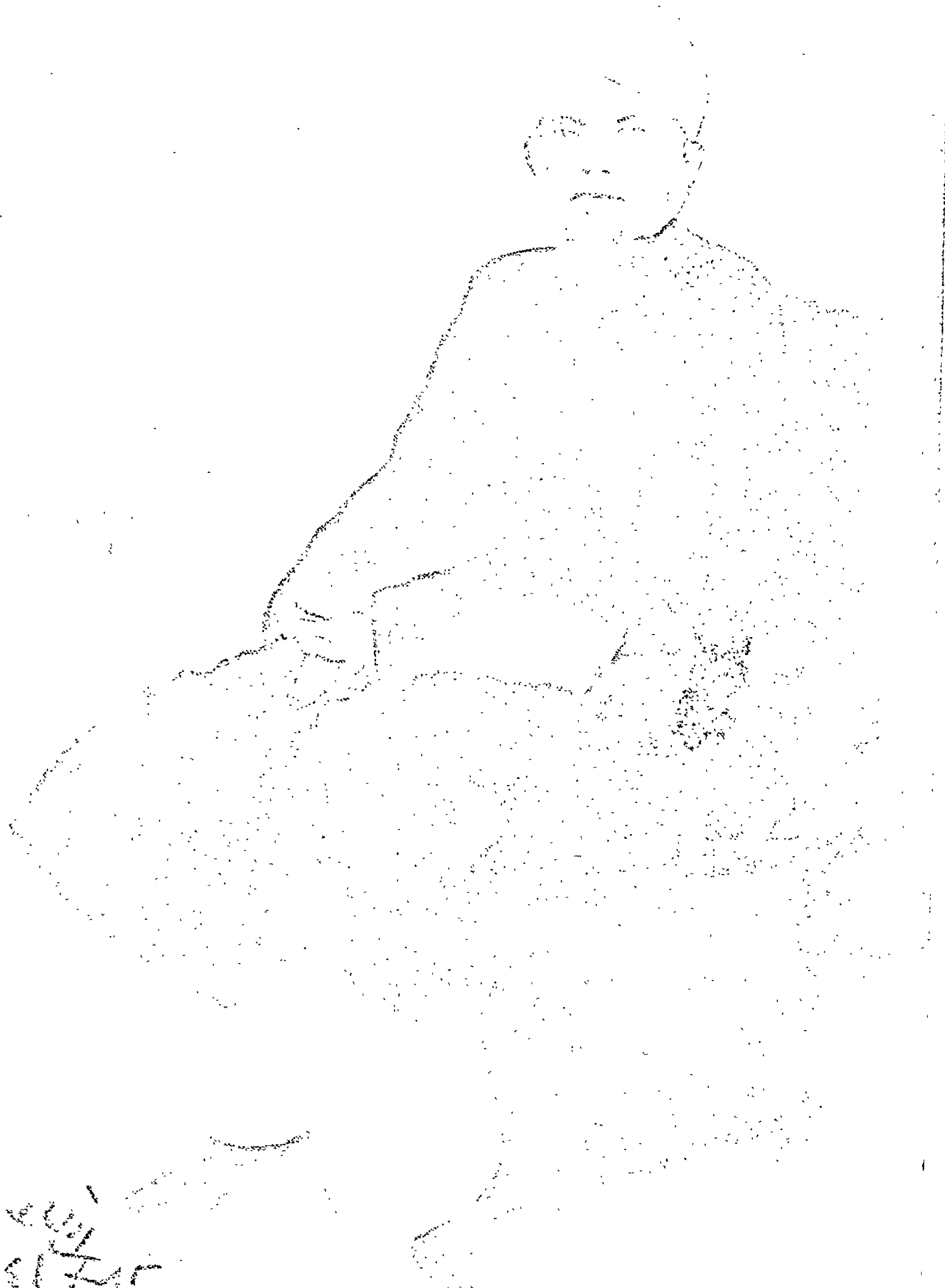
I used to be very shy and avoided all company







The room where Gandh j
the *swast ka* ind cates i



Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi, Gandhiji's father; the inscription written by Gandhiji in Gujerati reads: "His son at his feet—Mohandas"

Gandhiji at the age of seven



The Primary School at Rajkot



A class-room in the school

(Left) Gandhiji with one of his class mates at the age of fourteen

(Right) With his brother Laxmidas Gandhi 1886

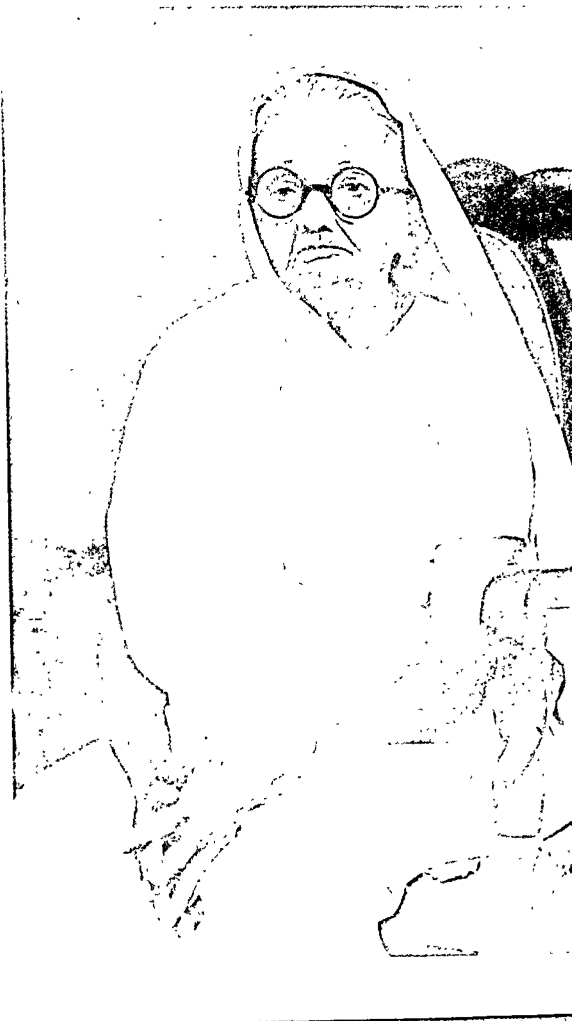


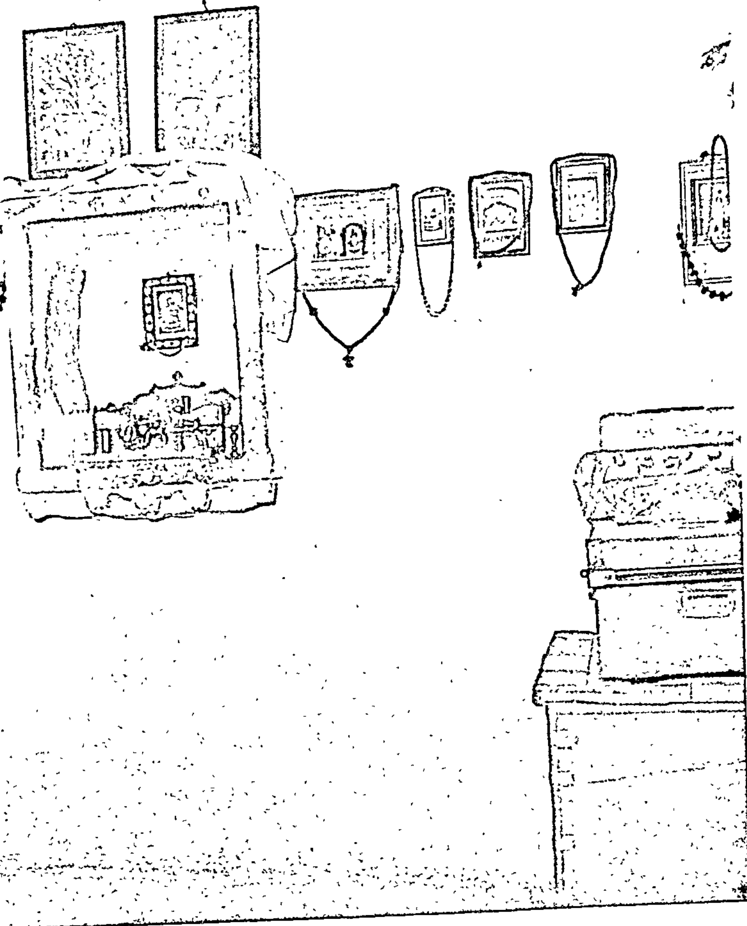


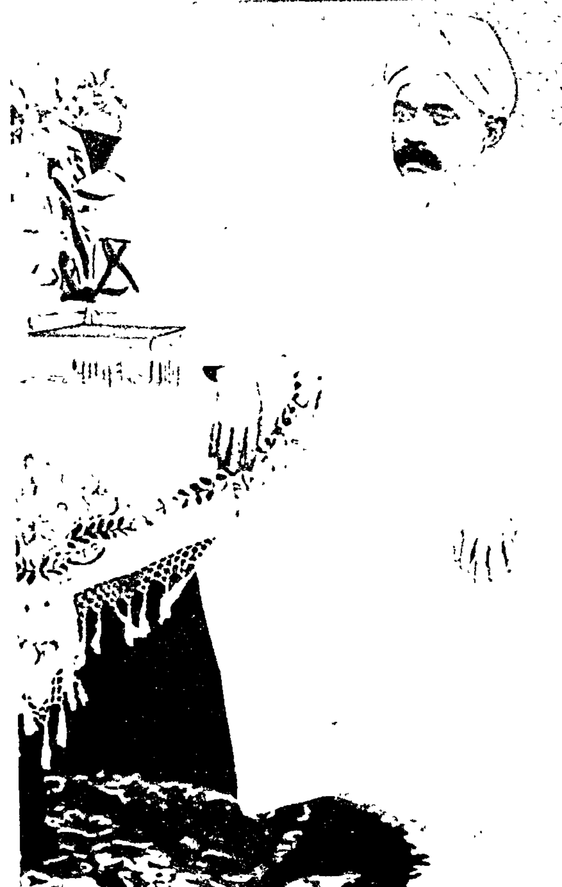
The Alfred High School Rajkot which Gandhiji attended

Gandhiji's sister, Raliyat Behn, and brother, Laxmidas Gandhi









(*Above*) The House at Rajkot
(*Below*) Gandhiji's room

be s of
ar an
ondon

udent
don

1894 - 1914

I had gone to South Africa for gaining my own livelihoo but I found myself in search of God and striving for self-realization. I saw that South Africa was no country for a self-respecting Indian, and my mind became more and more occupied with the question as to how this state of thing might be improved.



, office colleagues at Johannesburg, South Africa



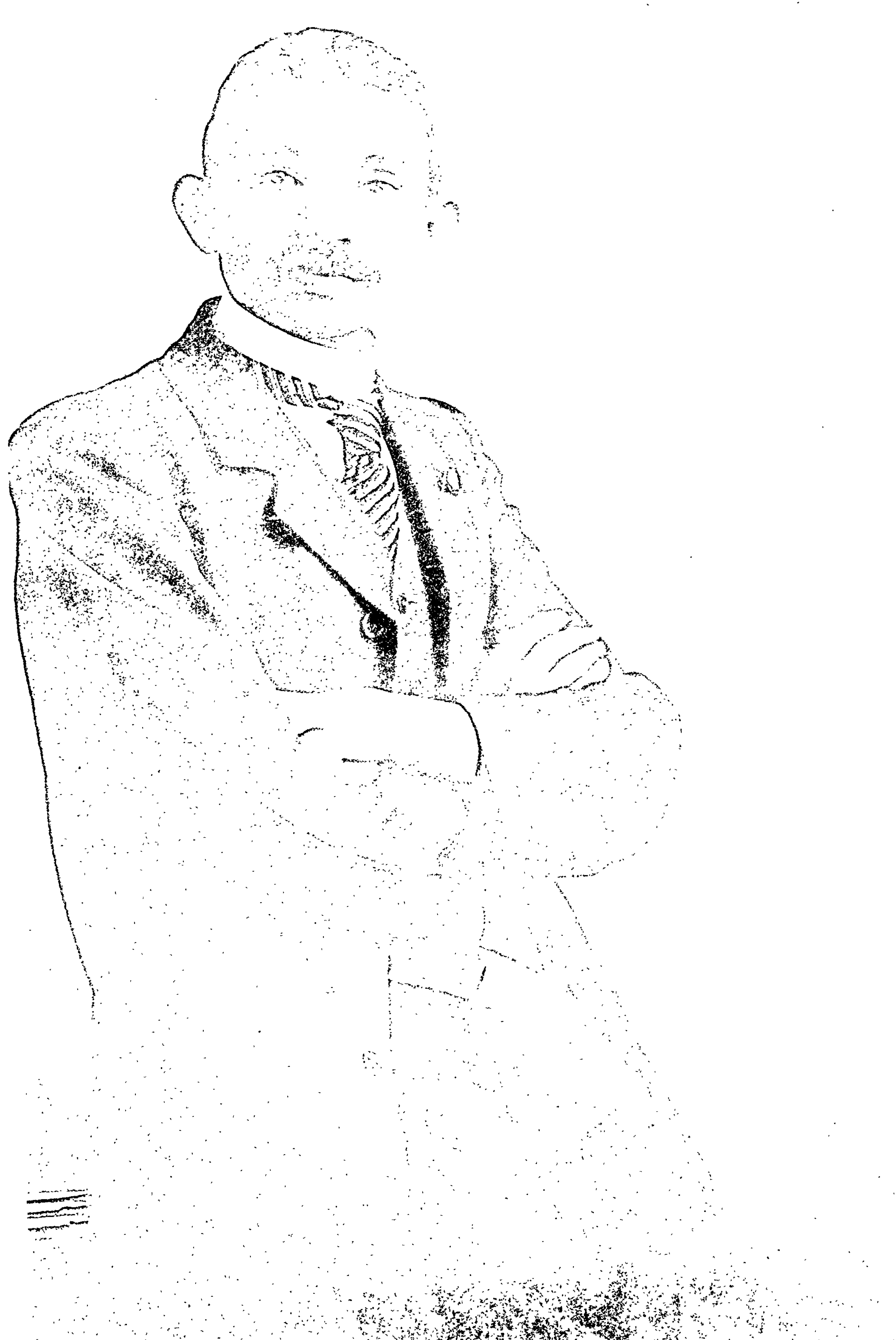
At Johannesburg 1900



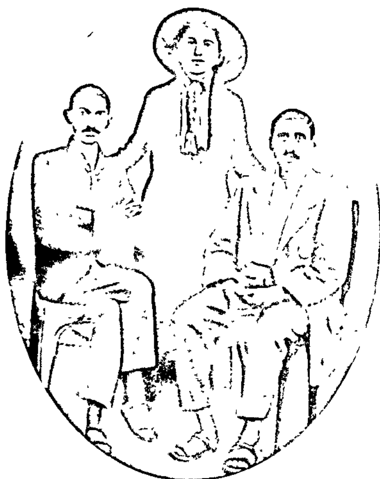
(*Above r ght*) At Johannesburg 1907



Gandh j and Kastu ba th P K Na du and h s fam ly n South Afr ca 1912



Gandhiji and Kasturba with fellow settlers at the Phoenix Settlement, Natal, 1906





Kallenbach and other settlers at the Tolstoy Farm

With other *satyagrahis* during the last phase of the struggle in South Africa



Gandh j and Kas u ba n Sou

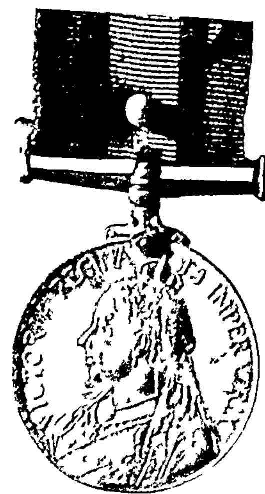
ılenbach and other settlers at the Tolstoy Farm

With other *satyagrahis* during the last phase of the struggle in South Africa

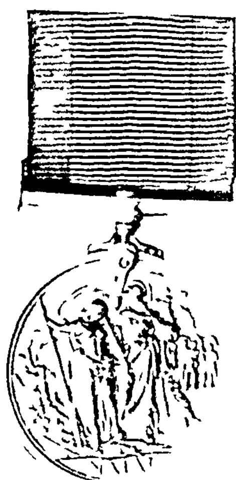


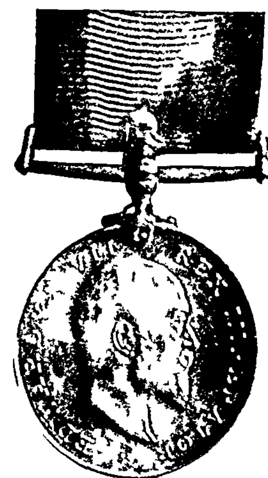
Gandhiji and Kasturba in South Afr











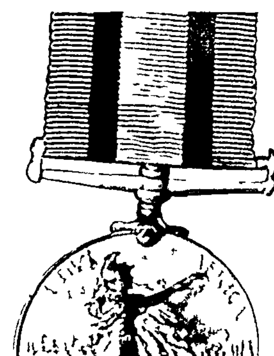
During the Boer War and the Zulu Rebellion

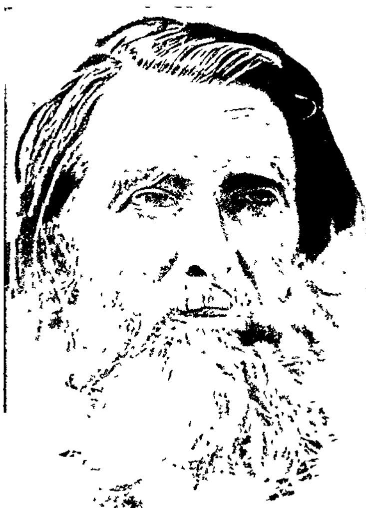
(*Above*) With the Indian Ambulance Corps during the Boer War, 1899

(*Below*) With the Indian Stretcher-bearer Corps during the Zulu Rebellion, 1906

(*Left*) In the uniform of a group leader of the Stretcher-bearer Corps

(*Right*) Medals awarded to Gandhiji for his services during the two campaigns







Tolstoy, Ruskin and Raychand who exercised a marked influence on Gandhiji's ideas the sketch of Tolstoy reproduced above is by his daughter and was presented by her to Gandhiji

nbers of the South African Indian community in Verulum

OPP PAGE
As a *satyagrahi* in South Africa

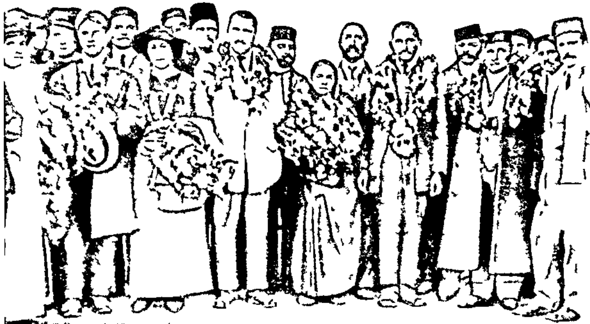
At the reception to Gokhale in Durban when the latter visited South Africa in 1912



With Gokhale in Durban

During *satyagraha* in South Africa, Gandhiji, discussing the situation with Kallenbach and Miss Schlesin

th Kasturba and Kallenbach Durban on the e e of h s partu e for Eneland 1914



th members of the Ind an mmunity before his departu e for England

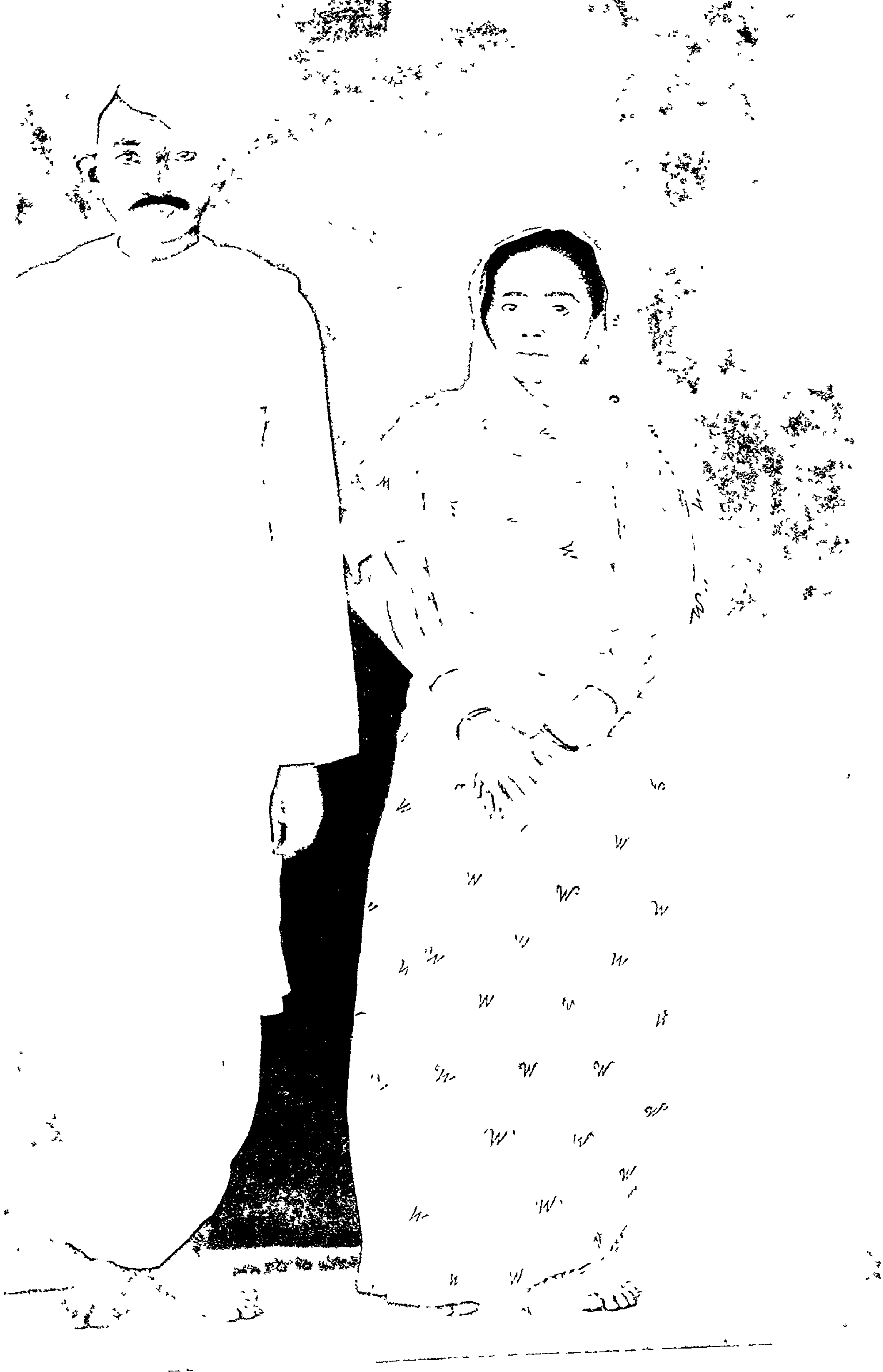






1915 - 1922

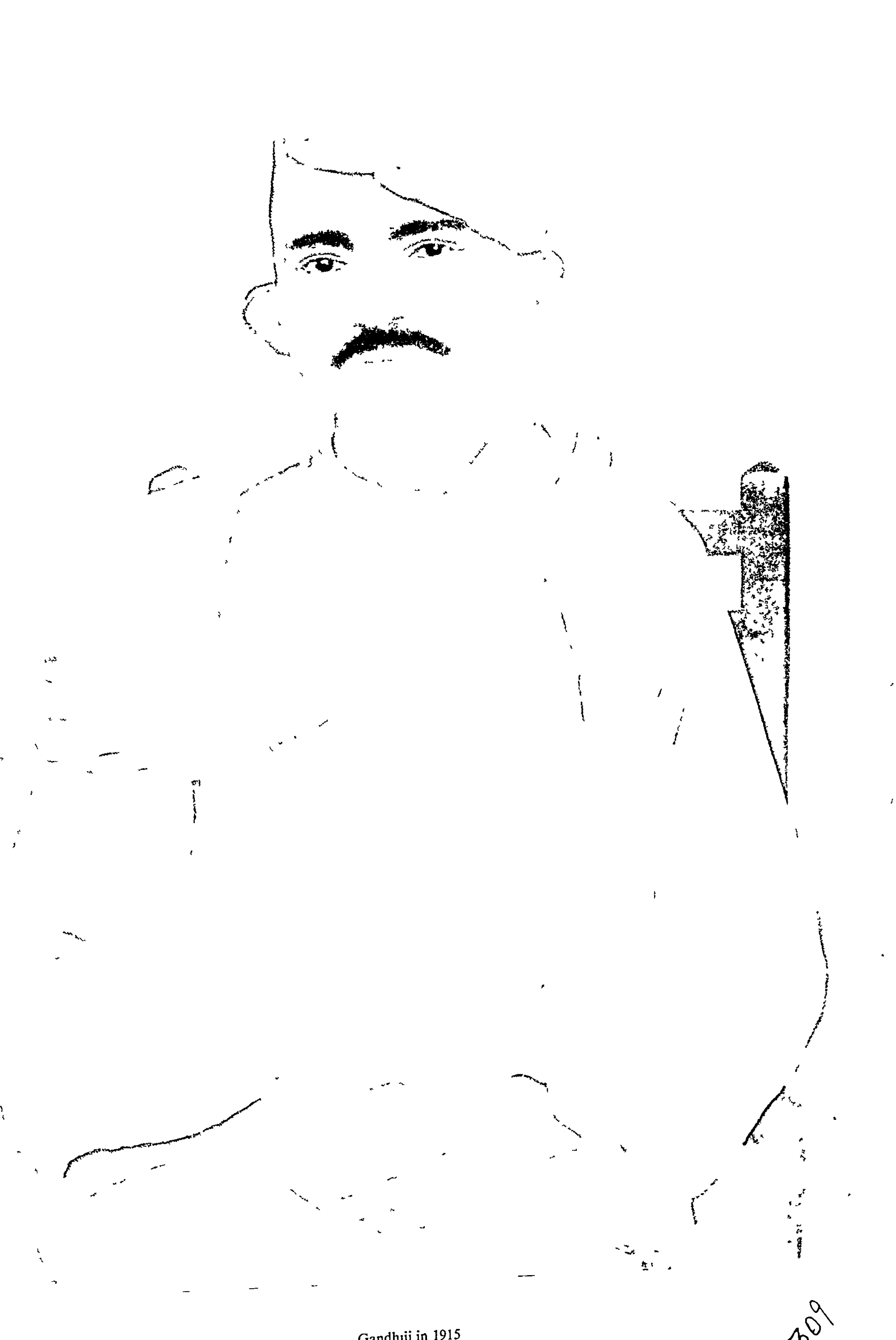
I can retain neither respect nor affection for a government which has been moving from wrong to wrong to defend its immorality
In my opinion, non co operation with evil is as much a duty as is co-operation with good



d Kasturba on their return to India, 1915



With Muhammed Yakub Hasan
Natesan during h s first visit to M



Gandhiji in 1915



[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
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asturba with social workers during his tour of Gujerat, 1916

a recept on in Jetpur Saurashtra



Dur ng the Kheda *satyagraha* days 1918

"Gandhi cap"

a march past of Congress volunteers at the Ahmedabad session of the Congress, 1921

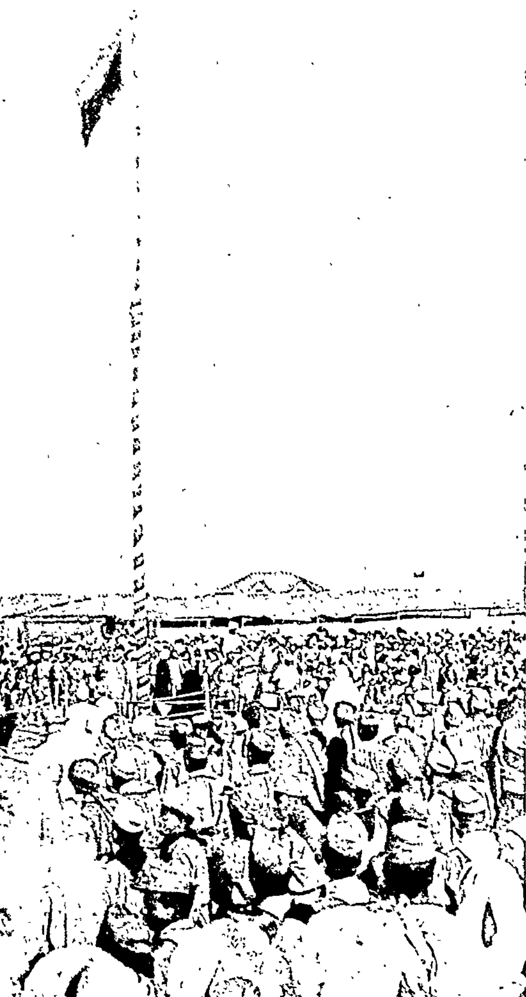
At the un e l ng of he portra t of Kastu Ranga Iyengar Madra 1921

e an S n a Sa and

1923-1932

No sophistry, no jugglery in figures can explain away the eviden that the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye have no doubt that both England and the town-dwellers in In will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime agai humanity which is perhaps unequalled in history My tion is no less than to convert the British people through violence, and thus make them see the wrong they have done India I do not seek to harm your people I want to serve th even as I want to serve my own

With the Ali Brothers at the Belgaum session of the Congress over which Gandhiji presided, 1924



Flag-hoisting at the session

With Sarojini Naidu at the session



Gandhiji during his twenty one days fast undertaken at Delhi in 1924 as a penance for communal disturbances all over India with him is Indira Gandhi, then six years old



Convalescing after the fast





ore and Andrews at Santiniketan, 1924





W th S Srinivasa Iyengar and Satyamurthi



Addressing a meeting at the Madras beach 1925 S Sr nivasa Iyengar is sitt ng next



agore and Andrews at Santiniketan, 1924

With S Srinivasa Iyengar and Satyamurthi



Addressing a meeting at the Madras beach, 1925 S Srinivasa Iyengar is sitting next

25; in the centre behind Gandhiji is C. R. Das, who died a few days later

In Calcutta, 1925

W th the ruler of Kalakankar State (Ut ar P adesh) wh ch he v s ted n 19 9

A he S ate G

आरू ०३६ / ९

With Sardar Patel at a public meeting, 1929



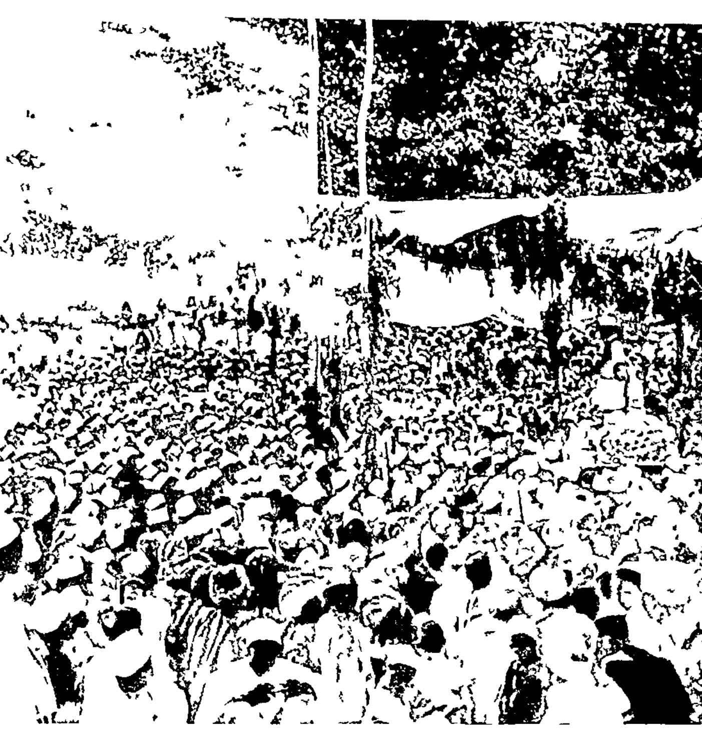
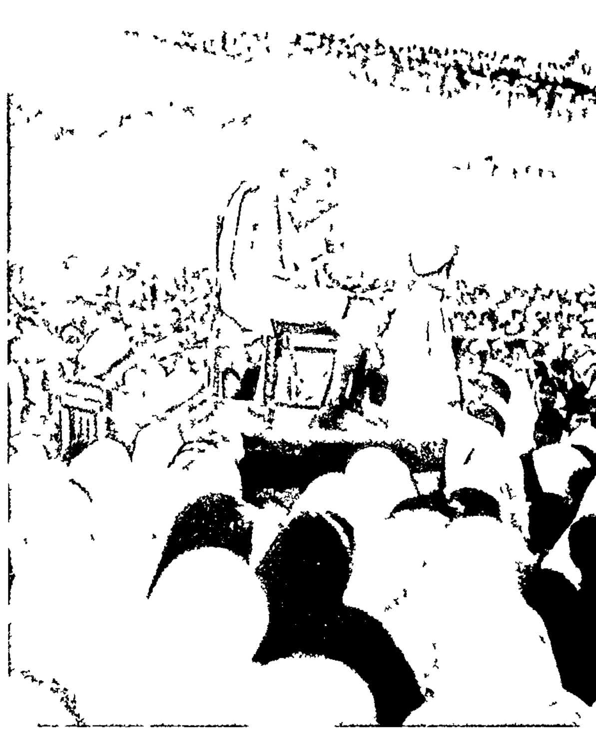
In a genial mood with Abbas Tyabji



A a pub c meet ng n a llage near Ahme








Scenes during Gandhiji's famous march on foot to the sea coast at Dandi, on the eve of the Salt Satyagraha, 1930



With Sarojini Naidu



Conferring with Sardar Patel and other Congress leaders after his release from prison, 1931



At breakfast during his stay in Bombay, 1931

Gandhiji riding a bicycle



At a mee n n Allahabad p es ded o er by Mo a Neh u (and ng)

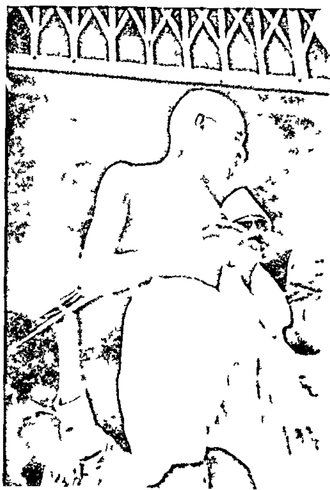
Jawaha la Neh u pe k ng on he



In a contemplative mood, Sabarmati, 1931

At the Karachi Congress 1931



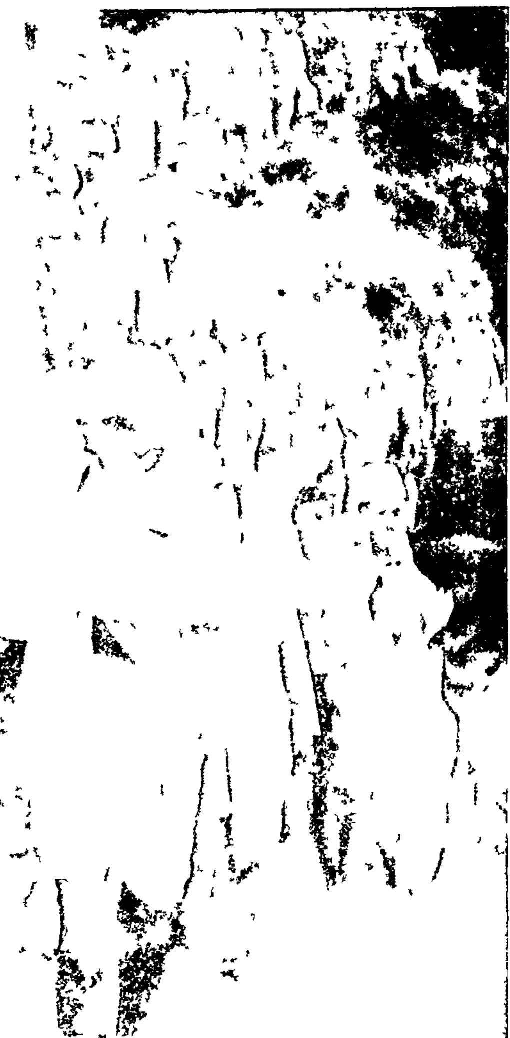




More scenes of the Karachi Congress







During his visit to Simla in August 1931, prior to his departure for England

On h s way to meet Mr Emerson Home Sec etary to the Gove nment of Ind a August 1931

Retu n ng af er the



With Sardar Patel at the Seva Dal Conference, Bombay, August 1931

ngress workers of
rture for England

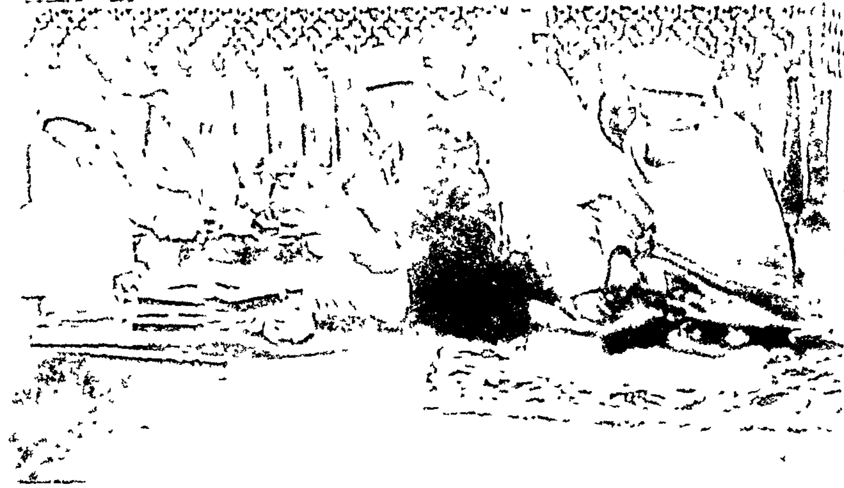
Gandhiji at the mike Bombay 1931

(*Below left*) Addressing the convocation of the Gujerat Vidyapith 1931

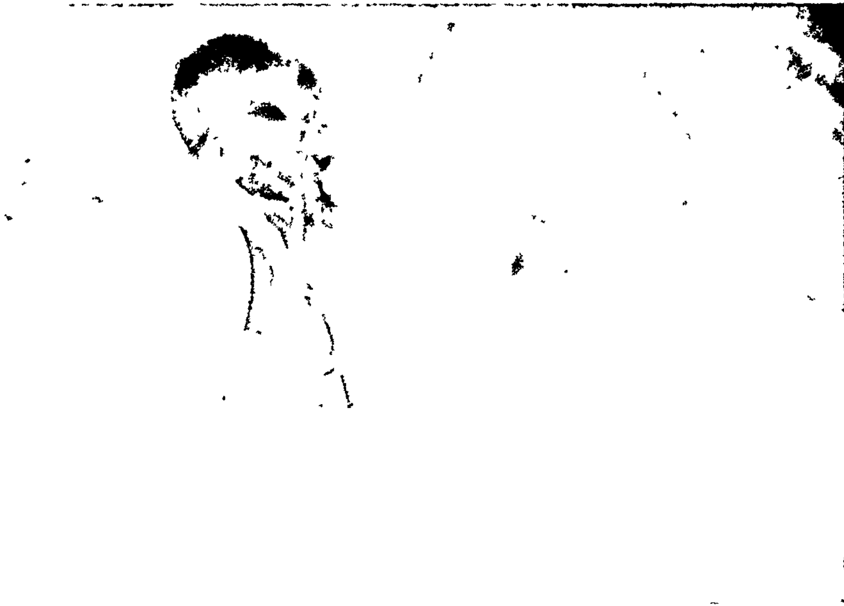
(*Below*) Leaving Anand Bhavan for a public meeting at Allahabad 1931







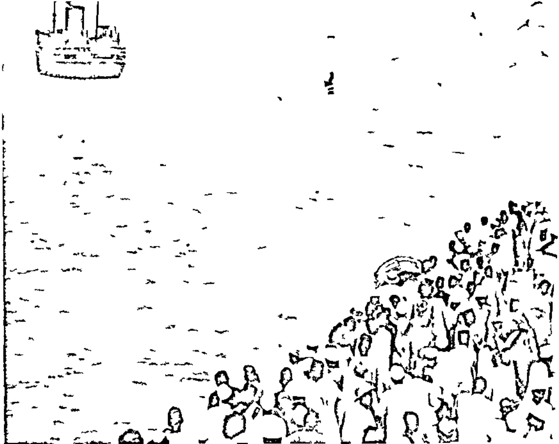
At a Congress Working Committee meeting at Anand Bhavan, Allahabad, 1931



With Abbas Tyabji



At a prayer meeting at the Gujerat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, 1931



S S *Rajputana* which carried Gandhiji and other Indian leaders to England for the Second Round Table Conference 1931

With Kasturba Pandit Malaviya and Sarojini Naidu at Victoria Docks before boarding ship at Bombay












(*Abo e*) Lea n ng the u e of a l fe a e

(*Abo e lef*) Tak ng a ead ng w h he sextant

(*Abo e gh*) At a ecep on by he Ind an res den s of Aden

(*R gh*) On boa d sh p w h Shaukat Al who jo ned at Aden



OPP PAGE

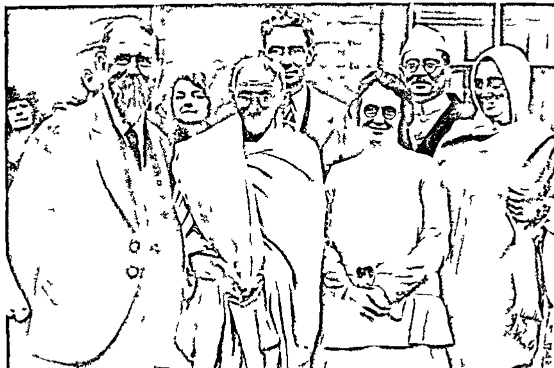
On boa d S S *Ra pu ana*



Disembarking at Marseilles

With his son Devadas and C. F. Andrews at Marseille
with French press correspondents

Talking to French correspondents



Group photograph taken at Ma se lles C F And ews Gandh j M ss Mur el Lester Mahadev Desa M raben Pyarelal and an Engl sh fr end



nd Round Table Conference, London 1931

OPP PAGE

(*Above*) At 10, Downing Street, after an interview with the Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald

(*Below*) On his way to a session of the Round Table Conference, are Sarojini Naidu, Prabhashankar Pattani, A Rangaswami and Mahadev Desai






Gandhiji addressing Friends Society meeting in London

With some English friends in London





W h Mahadev Desa and Sa oj n Na du on he way to Buck ngham Palace to mee he K ng *(Abo e gl)* W h Ma av ya af er d cu s ons w h Lo d I w n forme V ce oy of Ind a



A po a aken n London 1931

Londoners mobbing Gandhiji on his arrival at the flat of an Indian friend to meet Charlie Chaplin



With Charlie Chaplin in London, 1931

Gandhiji sitting for Jo Davidson
an American sculptor



Gandhiji and Miraben with Dr Hewlett Johnson Dean of



Visit to a Lancashire cotton mill

W th omen wo kers of he m ll



Gandh j plan ng a sap n outs de K ngsley Hall London n rememb an e of his s ay the e

1933-1942

I am not interested in independence after the war I
independence now That will help England win the war
quarrel is not with the British people, we fight their Imperi
The proposal for the withdrawal of British power did not
out of anger It came to enable India to play its due part a
present critical juncture

The Central Pr son Yeravada where
Gandh j was nte ned more han once

Kastu ba n 934



OPP PAGE
(*Abo e*) Gandh j and Sardar Patel at Bo ad
(*Belo v*) Gandh j at the open ng of the A
Ind a Swade hi Exh b t on Indore 1934

Gandhiji in Bihar, immediately after the earthquake; Dr. Rajendra Prasad is seated next to him



At a meeting of the Bihar Relief Committee at Patna, March 1934

At the opening of a school in memory of Vithalbhai Patel at Nadiad, Gujerat







(*Abo e*) At a mee ng n Bulsar near Ahmedabad dur ng h s tour for Har jan upl ft 1934

(*Abo e lef*) Add ess ng ra lway workers at Golden Rock ra l ay tat on near Tiruch rapall 1934

(*Abo e r gh*) Bath ng n the sea at Cape Comor n

(*B low gh*) Address ng social workers from Karnatak at Sev g m 1934



welcome from the
Banaras

Replying to an address presented
by the Kanpur Municipal Board

W h Dr Ra end a P asad and Pand t Malav ya at he Bombay Cong ess se s on 1934



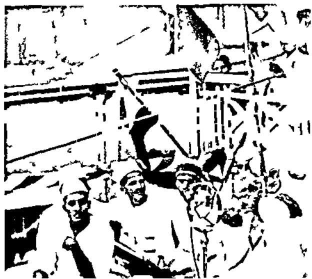
Pand t Malav ya appeal ng to Gandh j to w hdraw h s res gnat on f om the Cong ess at the Bombay sess on 1934



W th Sardar Pa el and Man ben Patel at the Bombay Cong ess



Add e ng a publ c mee ng n Bombay 193







Gandhiji accompanied by Kasturba and Sardar Patel on a tour of Gujerat villages during a plague epidemic, 1935

OPP. PAGE
(*Above*) Gandhiji's mud hut at Sevagram
(*Below*) Walking with Kasturba and his grand-nephew at Sevagram



Khushaldas, a cousin of Gandhiji

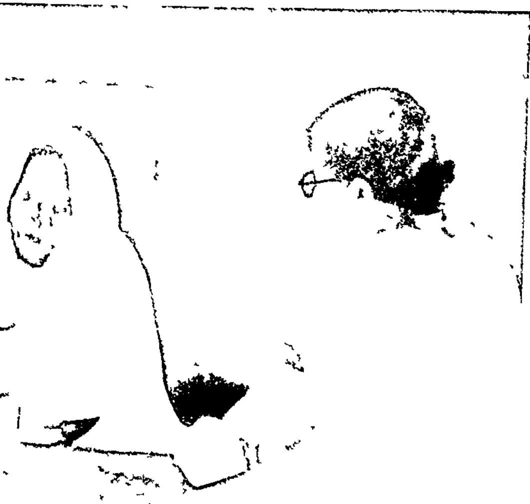


Mahatma Gandhi and Kasturba at Sevagram

W h Jawaha lal Nehru at Sevag am









At Sevagram

At Sevagram

(*Above*) A morning walk

(*Right*) Kasturba bathing Gandhiji's feet

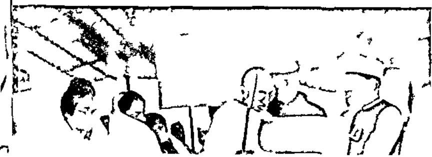


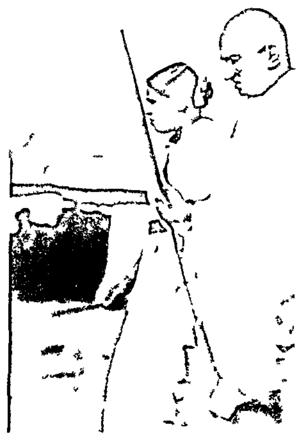


Greeting a new-born calf

Faizpur Congress 1936









OPP. PAGE

(*Above left*) Acknowledging greetings, Banaras, 1936

(*Below left*) At the Banaras Vidyapith

(*Above right*) Arriving at the opening of the Bharatmata Mandir at Banaras

(*Below right*) At the opening ceremony of the Mandir










u beach, Bombay